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Valentine Hall

17. March 1752.

MEMOIRS OF QUEEN ANNE:

BEING
A COMPLEAT SUPPLEMENT
TO THE
HISTORY of her REIGN,
Wherein the Transactions of the FOUR LAST YEARS
are fully related.

To which is prefix'd,

By Way of INTRODUCTION,
A SUCCINCT ACCOUNT of Affairs from
the REFORMATION, concerning the continual
Struggles between the two Opposite Parties, in the
Kingdom; viz. those who stood up for the PRO-
TESTANT RELIGION, LIBERTY and
PROPERTY, and those who favoured Popery
and arbitrary Power.

With the Issue thereof, in the great CRISIS before
the said Queen's Death, and the Succession of the
PRESENT ROYAL FAMILY to the Crown
of Great Britain.

WHEREIN

The many ARTIFICES set on foot at that Time to
defeat the said Succession are now fairly laid open,
and the whole History of that Affair put in a clear
Light;

From ORIGINAL PAPERS, and other
Sufficient VOUCHERS.

L O N D O N :

Printed for A. MILLAR, at *Buchanan's-Head*, over against St. Clement's
Church in the Strand. M.DCC.XXIX. X





The PREFACE.

AMONG the great Variety of Histories, in our own or foreign Languages, none are reckon'd more useful than those which have been employ'd in relating great and extraordinary Revolutions, or the extraordinary Events that have brought the Contests and Struggles of long continued Parties to a final Determination. Of this Kind is the following Narrative, which contains the winding up of all the Enterprises that had been projected long before, and often attempted for overthrowing the Protestant Religion and Liberties of the People in this Kingdom.

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THE Transactions of this time were indeed so very black, and attended with so many strange and surprising Incidents, that several learned and ingenious Men have been desirous to see them put in a clear Light, upon a proper Plan of History; for tho' many things have been published relating to the Affairs of Queen Anne's Reign in the annual Collections; yet they are so voluminous, abounding with a Variety of independent Matters, and are so defective in the main parts of History, that they can give but little Satisfaction in matters of Intricacy and Difficulty. Besides that few Gentlemen have sufficient Time or Patience to peruse them. Tho' they may become useful Vouchers in several Things of some Consequence, which otherwise might be lost. Our other Histories are liable to the same Objection; most of our late Authors

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Authors having departed from the just Rules of writing History, by drawing out their Narratives into too great Length, intermixing so much matter foreign to their main Design, and often crowding in so many lesser Circumstances, that their Performances seem to be without any visible Scheme; which in some is owing to want of Judgment or true Taste, and in others to avoid the Imputation of being thought partial; which has led them especially in matters of Party and Division, slavishly to relate every little Circumstance on both Sides, whereby no right Judgment can easily be form'd. This indeed is a Defect which renders History of little or no use, and is only to be allowed where Facts are doubtful and uncertain; but where it is otherwise, they ought to be disposed in such a manner, as the Truth may appear plain and naked

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to the World; for he who falls short of this, is no Historian, but a bare Relater of things.

AS for this History, many of the Facts contained in it, are sufficiently known as well as the Consequences which attended them, tho' hitherto not so justly and clearly represented as they ought to have been: Others were taken from authentic Papers, or communicated by Persons of undoubted Veracity and we hope will be no ways liable to Exception. The Interests of the Nation both in our domestick and foreign Concerns, being a material part of History; we have been careful to keep that in View throughout the whole especially what relates more particularly to our civil and religious Rights, our Alliances and Trade, also the Genius and Pursuits of the contending Parties with the Artifices and Intrigues of

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of those leading Men, who from Pique or from Views of Self-Interest, were far advanced in the Ruin of their Country, which we have endeavoured to put in a clear Light.

WE have not perhaps been so full and circumstantial as to please every one's Taste, especially such as have been accustomed to the voluminous Writings of the present Times; yet as to the Extent of our Plan, particularly so far as relates to the Four last Years of Queen Anne, it will be found to fall very little short of those Pieces, which have been accounted the best Patterns for History, however defective, the Performance may be in any other respect. And because these later Transactions had a manifest Connection with the Transactions of several preceding Reigns, we have therefore prefixed a short historical Introduction concerning
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our Parties and Divisions, since the Reformation, and the Causes thereof; which we have grounded upon some authentick Materials that have been but little known to others. And we presume this Essay will meet with the more favourable Reception, that our Deliverance from these past Dangers, was such as ought to be held in perpetual Remembrance by all who wish the true Welfare of their Country.





THE INTRODUCTION:

CONTAINING

A short View of PARTIES,

FROM

The REFORMATION to the Reign
of Queen ANNE.



It is now almost beyond dispute that the Differences between the two contending Parties, *viz.* Those who stood up for their Religion and Liberties, and those who fell in with the Arbitrary Measures of Princes, under the Colour

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lour of Duty and Loyalty, were for the most part owing to the ill Designs of the Popish Party in this Kingdom, who have been in continual Hopes by such Means to overturn the Reformation, and to re-establish Popery; whereunto several Circumstances and Events, during all the preceding Reigns since the Reformation, have very much contributed: For not to mention the great Struggle in the Reigns of King *Henry* the 8th, and his Son *Edward* the 6th, when the Number of Protestants was exceeding small, but to begin with the Abolition of Popery in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; it will appear from the Computations made at that Time, that above two thirds of the Nation continued still their Affection to the Roman Catholick Religion, and of this Number were many of the Nobility and Gentlemen of chief Note among the Commons; who however could not comply so far with *Rome*, as to overlook such Impostures in that Hierarchy, as had a manifest Tendency to the Ruin of their Country. These had got so far above their Prepossessions and Prejudices, that they looked upon that Hierarchy to be very much corrupted, and many of the Popish Clergy were known to be both ignorant, and Men of wicked licentious Lives; so that by degrees they turned more cold and indifferent to *Rome*, and more reconciled to the Reformation. Yet they were not so

averse to that Constitution, but that they liked many Things in it, and preferred such Modes in the new established Religion, as most resembled the Pomp and Grandeur of the old Religion; which Appellations many both in *England* and *Scotland* made use of, especially those who were the most unfix'd in their Sentiments. And as Matters stood thus, it split the Reformed into two Parties here, as in Foreign Nations; for as the Disputes between the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* abroad, tended very much to weaken the Protestant Interest; so the Differences between the High Church and Low in *England*, laid the chief Foundation of all those Calamities that have since endangered the Protestant Religion; and the Liberties of the People, as these have given a constant Handle to the Papists, to work out their evil Designs both upon our Princes and their Subjects.

IN Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, such as set up separate Congregations, and inclin'd to the Reformation of *Geneva*, or to the *German* or other Churches abroad, who styled themselves the *Reformed*, in Opposition to *Luther*, were here termed *Puritans*. Those also of the Established Church, who taught the same Doctrines, as they were set forth in the Church Articles; but held any Thing else in that Establishment as indifferent, were classed along with the Puritans.

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and were commonly accounted as such; so that Queen *Elizabeth* was forced to give her Assent to some severe Laws against the Puritans, which were contrived and carried on by those who were but half Protestants, whom that Queen and her Ministers were forced to oblige, more out of necessary Policy than Choice. For most of the great Men of her Court, favoured the Puritans as good Protestants, so that the Laws made against them, were never put in execution with any great Rigour. Besides that the Reformed in *Scotland*, being for the most part of the same Principles with the Puritans in *England*, Queen *Elizabeth* not only found it for the good of the Protestant Interest, to assist the *Scots* in their Reformation, but to treat those in *England*, who favoured their Establishment, with the greatest Tenderness. Besides that many of those who came over from the *Netherlands*, to avoid the Cruelties of the *Spanish* Inquisition, and had introduced the Woollen Manufactures into *England*, were rather inclin'd to the Puritan Way than to the Established Church; which induced that Queen and her Ministers to steer an even Course amidst all Parties, yet so as none of the Protestants in her Dominions might suffer Oppression.

BUT it was observable, the Aversion some had to the Puritans, grew stronger as
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that Queen advanced in Years, notwithstanding King *James* of *Scotland* was the next Heir to the Crown, and a Protestant. Some, who were altogether unacquainted with the Genius and Temper of that Prince, took wrong Impressions of him, and were the more hard upon the Puritans, that he had been bred up in the Principles of the *Scots* Reformation, fearing lest the Puritan Way should meet with too much Encouragement under his Government; but those who were better inform'd of his Character, knew very well that he could never endure the Severity of their Discipline and Morals, but especially that the Reformed in *Scotland* were Enemies to the Cause of *Mary* Queen of *Scots* his Mother, which he always espoused. Therefore the Puritans were suppressed and kept under, by the one Side out of Jealousy, and by the other as they were like to meet with Discouragement, upon his Accession to the Crown of *England*,

KING *James* also affected absolute Power, and this was observable in him when he was but young, tho *Buchanan* was in hopes while he was a Child under his Care, that he would be of a different Temper, and even lived long enough to see his Mistake, for he soon gave in to the flattering Insinuations of his Courtiers, and was guided by Persons, who carried such an Arbitrary Sway in *Scotland*, that the Nobility

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and Gentlemen of chief Account in that Kingdom, were forced to make a long Remonstrance against them, with a very black Catalogue of the Injuries the Nation suffered under their Government. In this Remonstrance all possible Regard was shewn to the King and to his Government, so far as was consistent with the Honour and Safety of their Country, and the Duty which they owed to the Laws and Constitutions thereof, which they humbly presum'd to be their Right to maintain, together with his Majesty's Dignity, which they represented as being very much trampled upon by the ill Instruments, who had intruded themselves into his Favour. In this Representation, the King was plainly and openly advised in those Things, that were for his Interest and the Interest of the Nation, and the Characters and Designs of his evil Counsellors were laid open with the greatest Freedom. And tho' their Remonstrance had the Influence to make the King both change some of his Ministers and alter his Measures, yet it was with much Reluctancy, that this could be obtain'd of him; nor did he ever love those who gave him good Advice, tho' he would shew himself craftily, and dissemble with them after his Manner.

THE Inclination he had to be absolute, was no less manifest when he came to be King

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King of *England*, from several Speeches he made to his Parliaments, which for the most part were of his own composing; wherein he used to assert his Kingly Power and Authority to a very high degree, and in such a dogmatical strain, as Schoolmasters are wont to dictate to their Pupils. The same was also observable in some of his Political Writings; where he carried things to such Extremes, as would have caused much Uneasiness in his Subjects, had not the wiser sort discern'd many Absurdities in his Notions, and therefore judg'd of them as mere empty Speculations. Besides that, he was never looked upon as enterprising enough to endanger the Constitution; for he generally put an end to all the Opposition he met with, by some threatening Expressions, which the People for the most part overlook'd, as coming from the King.

BUT as the King's Inclinations stood that way, it gave Encouragement to Parties and Divisions, which self-interested Men had already begun from various Views and Motives. The Court was generally sway'd by the King's Humour and Inclinations; and it is sufficiently known what unworthy Favourites he always entertained about him, and what Uneasiness this gave to the better sort of his Subjects: For tho' the Nation enjoy'd a sufficient share of Peace from abroad, yet many were afraid of Evils to come, from the

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Temper that began to shew itself in his Time. For now a more than ordinary Distinction was made in Matters of Religion ; The Laws were put in execution against the Puritans, while Favour was shewn to the Papists, and such other Schemes formed, as tended to weaken the Protestant Interest, and to unhinge the Constitution. For it was to humour the King's Ambition, that his Power and Prerogative were screw'd up to such a Height by his Ministers and Favourites ; and that the Homilies of the Church against Rebellion, tho' they were perhaps chiefly design'd in Opposition to the Usurpations of *Rome* upon the Civil Power, yet were interpreted so, as they might best favour the prevailing Notions of the Court, which aim'd at what some of his Successors afterwards carried to a greater Height ; *viz.* at dispensing with the Laws and Constitutions of the Kingdom. Such as were the King's greatest Favourites among the Clergy, generally fell in with these Maxims of the Court ; and therefore the King was willing to have allowed them a much greater Latitude in their Jurisdiction, than was consistent either with the Laws of the Land, or the Principles of good Government, had not a stop been put to it by the Judges, who unanimously gave their Opinion against this new Scheme ; for all Men saw what the King and his Counsellors aim'd at ; *viz.* to set up an absolute

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Solute Power in the Crown, and an Independence in the Church.

BUT as this reconcil'd abundance of the Clergy to the King's Sentiments, so many of them became very industrious in promoting high Principles, such as were for setting the King even above the Laws, and themselves above the King : And tho' they could not gain their Point with the Judges, who shewed the Absurdity of their Norions, and their Inconsistency with the *English* Constitution, nor go down with the better sort ; yet they made it their business to side with the Court-Engines, in laying the Foundation of those unhappy Divisions, which rent the Nation asunder for some successive Ages.

AS the King had naturally an Aversion to the Puritans, so they were the more disliked by the Court-Parasites, that they were not without many Friends among the more moderate Clergy. Great Numbers among the Laity also patroniz'd them as far as was in their power ; because the Puritans, besides that little or nothing could be objected as to their Morals, they also join'd with others in Defence of the Constitution, against such things as threatned the Protestant Religion, or the People's Liberties. The King, on the other hand, gave countenance to the Popish Party, who fell in with his Maxims, because they found they had a direct Tendency

dency to divide his Protestant Subjects by a partial Regard he shewed to one side, and a Hatred to the other : And tho' that Prince often gave himself Airs of running down the Popish Religion, both in his Conversation and Writings, out of an Affectation of being thought a Learned Man ; yet there were so many intricate Mazes in that Constitution, which he could never penetrate into, that it seem'd to create in him a secret Veneration for them, as appears by many arch Expressions of his concerning them : and none were held in greater Esteem by him, than some Papists both in *England* and *Scotland*, who had always his Ear, and were preferred to some of the highest Offices, or had private Pensions bestowed on them. He seem'd to have no Notion of governing, but by meer Craft ; and therefore would endeavour to make his best Subjects believe he had wise Views in all his Conduct towards the *Roman* Catholicks, and that he made many useful Discoveries to the Publick by them. But this was looked upon as nothing but grimace, while the King shewed a manifest Partiality towards them, and studied as far as he could go to advance their Interest. Besides, that he had always other Motives for favouring Papists, for he was afraid of their *Matchiavelian* Principles, that they would conspire against his Person, or stir up foreign Princes against him ; which was partly

ly the Reason, why he suffered his Son-in-Law, the King of *Bohemia*, to fall a Sacrifice to the Emperor, when he might have been instrumental in supporting the said Elector, to have suppress'd the Power of the House of *Austria*, and to have maintain'd the Protestant Cause. The Papists were also the chief Favourers of the Cause of *Mary Queen of Scots*, his Mother; which they always espoused in Opposition to the Reformed in *Scotland*, who set her aside for her Misgovernment, and for many heinous Crimes laid to her Charge; for which King *James* could never forgive them, nor could he endure Queen *Elizabeth's* Memory, upon whose account she at last suffered Death; notwithstanding the Views of Queen *Mary* were utterly to overthrow the Protestant Religion, and that she had a very powerful Party both at home and abroad, who adhered to her; but especially the King's Partiality towards his Mother was the more remarkable, in regard her Zeal was so great for promoting the Cause and Interest of Popery; that she made over the three Kingdoms to the King of *Spain*, in case her Son continued a Protestant: for she looked upon Queen *Elizabeth*, as having no just Title to the Crown of *England*; and if she had prevail'd in her Cause, King *James* must either have chang'd his Religion, or been set aside from the Succession. For this Reason the
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Papists always treated her as a Saint, and that her Character might be consistent with the Honour they paid to her Memory, they not only endeavour'd to vindicate her of all the Crimes laid to her Charge, but represented her as a Person of transcendent Virtue. This was so acceptable and pleasing to King *James*, that all the Courtiers and their Dependents extolled that Queen to a very extravagant Degree, and fell in with the Papists in running down her Opposers, which was both a very great Injustice, and a Discredit to the Reformation. As to King *James*, he was at a great deal of pains to influence *Thuanus* in her Favour; but when he could not succeed with *Thuanus* against the Truth, he tampered with *Cambden*, who has given a very unfair Account of many things relating to Queen *Mary*, and the Affairs of *Scotland*; who being a Person much esteem'd for his Learning, and withal, reputed an honest Man, his Relation of those Affairs therefore turned the Scales very much in favour of Queen *Mary's* Cause, so far as related to the Contests between her and her Subjects; by which means the *Scots* Reformation was looked upon to be no better than Rebellion; and the Puritans in *England* suffered greatly on the same account, as they were Favourers of the *Scots*. Upon this, the high-flown Principles gathered great Strength. Those, both among the Clergy and Laity, who

who looked upon themselves as the best Churchmen, fell in with the Papists in many of their Political Maxims ; and under the colour of Loyalty, were promoting absolute Power, and such Principles as were injurious to the Religion and Liberties of the People.

BUT the Consequences of these things could not be fully seen into in this King's Reign, because he had not Courage to push his Designs where he met with opposition. But his Son *Charles* the First, who had been bred up in all his Father's Notions of absolute Power, and who was of a more enterprising Genius, encouraged those Principles to his own ruin. Whatever he might be as to some Virtues, for which his Favourites so much extolled him, it is certain he was not without many Faults, which were so well known, that neither the Lord *Clarendon*, nor the Publishers of his History, could altogether conceal them : He had a considerable Share of Pride, and a false Loftiness of Spirit, which looks fully as deformed in a King, as in a private Man ; and is of a more unhappy Tendency, being joined with Power. Nor had he Skill and Dexterity as many other Princes, and great Men, or even as his own Father, to disguise this untowardly Temper ; and he was so far from forgiving those whom he imagined to have done him

him any Injury or Disrespect, or from overlooking their Faults, which is sometimes an Act of Prudence in a Prince, that on the contrary, he would prosecute them with the utmost Resentment; which created him a great many Enemies among his Subjects. His Father's Maxim, *no Bishop no King*, was so much idoliz'd by him, that he was even ready to give the Power out of his own hands, into the hands of Archbishop *Laud*, and some other favourite Clergymen. He was mightily for adorning Churches, and stiff in maintaining Ceremonies; and seem'd to think the Reformation had very much debased Religion, by casting out superfluous Ornaments and Ceremonies; and was so angry with those who held such things in any kind of Indifferency, that he looked upon them to be no better than Hereticks: And all his Schemes in Matters of Religion tended to Persecution, and in Civil Affairs to arbitrary Power. This was the cause why his Parliament oppos'd him, which gathered strength as his Resentment increased; for the higher that grew, the more arbitrary were his Proceedings, which put his Subjects the more on their Defence. And as his Interest by this means declin'd among the far greater part of his Protestant Subjects, both Churchmen and Puritans; so he fell in with Papists, and made very disho-

dishonourable Treaties with his own Popish Subjects in *Ireland*, for their Assistance against his Protestant Subjects in *England* and *Scotland*; which, with the dreadful Massacre in that Kingdom, and his setting up his Standard against his Parliament, did so manifestly threaten their Liberties, that they thought it their Duty to oppose the King's Designs with all their might; and to what a Catastrophy things were brought, is sufficiently known. When Wars and Tumults are once begun, it is hard to know where they will end. The Power was at last wrested into the hands of a few, whereby the King fell a Sacrifice to Party; and the Constitution it self was overturn'd by that Army, which at first was rais'd for its Defence.

THESE things proved very unhappy to the Nation, and to the whole Protestant Interest. The Schemes of Archbishop *Land*, and some others of the Clergy, who had been in chief Favour with the King, were so disagreeable to most of the Protestants, that many of them thereupon conceived a great dislike to Episcopacy; insomuch that they could not be prevailed on afterwards to comply with that kind of Government, some of the Bishops having carried their Pretensions so very high during the two preceding Reigns, that it was suspected some of them aim'd at the Restoration

storation of Popery. Others, by conceiving wrong Notions about the *Jure-divino-ship* of their Office, formed to themselves such Schemes as were not very consistent with the Constitution of the Church of *England*, but favoured rather of Avarice and Ambition : and tho' the better sort of the Nonconformists not only consented to the Restoration of King *Charles* the Second, but were even forward in their several Capacities to promote it, from a dislike to many things in *Cromwell's* Government ; yet when that King came to enjoy his Father's Crown, he rewarded them but very indifferently for their Services and good Disposition towards his Restoration. Tho' he never pretended to absolute Power, as his Father and Grandfather both did, who seem'd to look upon the Rights and Privileges which the Subjects claim'd, and had enjoy'd for many Ages, to be nothing but an Usurpation upon the regal Authority ; yet he plainly shewed his Inclinations that way, by entertaining the same sort of People about him. He managed all his Affairs by private Advice, and seldom made use of his Privy-Council. All the same Principles that were so strenuously promoted in the two preceding Reigns, were again espoused with greater warmth than ever, by the King's chief Favourites. The Church of *England* being again restored, it is well known

known what severe Laws were made against such as refused to conform; and how this was followed, both in *England* and *Scotland*, with Fines, Imprisonments, and other Acts of Persecution. The Nonconformists of all sorts were branded as the Persons who had brought all the late Calamities upon the Nation, and as the Murderers of the late King; though many of them, both in publick and private, shewed their Detestation of the said Murder with more freedom and boldness, than some who pretended to be his best Friends: On the other hand it is well known there were few Nonconformists among those who first took Arms against him, most of the Members of both Houses being Churchmen; and that it was chiefly his own ill Conduct which brought him to the Block. But such was now the Genius of the Times, that all the Crimes of that Age were imputed to them, and nothing was in fashion but high-flown Principles. Whoever appeared in behalf of the Constitution, against absolute Power, and the King's arbitrary way of managing Affairs by Favourites, were looked upon as Republicans, Enemies to kingly Government, Schismatics and Enemies to the established Church; which very much incensed many of the Clergy against them, who being for the most part misinform'd in those things that happened, during the late Wars and Confusions,

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fusions, and being also jealous of the Nonconformists, whose Ministers, generally speaking, were Men of good Lives, carried matters to the highest extreme of Pique and Resentment. And on the 30th of *January* the Pulpits were often profan'd with Lyes and Scandal; for the Son being now on the Throne, the Father was therefore extolled as a Saint and Martyr; and such as stood up firmly for Liberty and the Protestant Religion, were denounced Rebels by false Parallels out of Scripture, and were much more disliked by some People than the Papists, who, as in the preceding Reigns, were again brought into great Favour. The Affair of *Mary Queen of Scots* was revived against the Promoters of the Reformation in *Scotland*, and the Nonconformists in *England*; and such as favoured them in any respect were ranked in the same Class with the *Scots*, and were represented as Persons bred up in rebellious Principles.

BUT the true Design of all this was to overturn the Protestant Religion; tho' it is probable many of the Clergy, and others who were active in dividing Protestants, did not see into the ill Consequences thereof. King *Charles*, if he own'd any Religion at all, it was that of Popery; which indeed, was the most suited to his licentious Life. His Brother was a more
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conscientious Papist; and as *Charles* had an ardent desire to promote him to the Succession, so he made it his Business to weaken the Hands of all those whom he knew would be his greatest Opposers, who were generally the best Protestants. And therefore such were always held in greatest esteem with him, who had the least of Principle, and could be won over at all times by Court-Favours. The *French* King was also at this time watching every opportunity to ruin *England*, in order to aggrandize himself; and while other Nations were soliciting King *Charles* to give a helping hand, to restrain the Power of the *French* King, that Prince was supplying *Charles* with Money to support his Luxury; who in requital was permitted to gain all Advantages of this Kingdom in the way of Trade. King *Charles* also depended on the Assistance of that King to promote his Brother to the Succession; and it was generally believed the *French* Gold went a great way in casting out the Bill of Exclusion; so that their Projects succeeded so far, as to bring *James* the Second upon the Throne.

WE need not enter into the Particulars of that King's Reign, nor mention any thing concerning his Character. It is sufficiently known, that King *James* the Second was a weak Prince; he was Proud

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and Obstinate to the highest degree, and gave sufficient Proofs how little he regarded the Constitution, by his arbitrary Measures, which rendred his Reign very short and unfortunate. For the Rapidity of his Proceedings turned the Tide so strongly against him, that most of his own Friends were forced to desert him, and his Cause. But though the Cause of Liberty was by this means asserted, and the Protestant Religion secured from any dangerous Enterprizes at home; yet the bad Measures that were prosecuted during this, and the preceding Reign, brought the Nation into imminent danger from the Enterprizes of the *French* King; which leads us into a new Scene of things, that shall be taken notice of, so far as they are necessary to our present Design.

IT is sufficiently known, that the boundless Ambition of the late *French* King *Lewis* the XIVth. was the main Source of all the Troubles and Confusions that have attended this Nation, and the greatest part of *Europe*, for above an Age past. He began early to discover an uncommon Thirst after Power and Dominion, which was much inflamed, as well by the prosperous State in which he found his Affairs when he came to the Years of Maturity, as by the Flatteries of the Great Men of his Court; who, besides that it is a natural Vice

Vice in *Frenchmen* to deify and adore their Kings; the Courtiers and Great Men found also their Advantage in it, as it gave Rise to such Measures as tended to their own private Interest; some being greatly enriched by the Wars, and others by having the Management of the Revenue. And therefore, that King being in great Prosperity and Grandeur upon his first setting out in the World, and having also all imaginable Incentives from his own Subjects to aggrandize himself, thought of nothing less than universal Monarchy; and having set out with this vain Desire, he soon became a Plague to all the Nations round about him, by his continual Incroachments upon their Dominions. The Emperor and a great part of the Empire soon began to feel the Force of his Arms; as did also *Lorain* and *Savoy*; the *Spanish Netherlands* were in a manner swallowed up by his Armies; and the *United Provinces* were under imminent danger of undergoing the same Fate.

NO Ties or Engagements were sufficient to bind that Monarch, who also took all Advantages in the way of Treaty to weaken and undermine his Neighbours, by sowing Misunderstandings and Jealousies among those whose Interest it was to be firmly united; particularly between *England* and *Holland*, until King WILLIAM

was placed at the Head of a powerful Confederacy, wherein the Emperor, and most of the Princes of *Germany*, the King of *Spain*, the Duke of *Savoy*, and the two Maritime Powers were all engaged. This Confederacy was begun at *Vienna*, between the Emperor and the *Swiss General*, who entered into a Treaty of Alliance, offensive and defensive, the 12th of *May* 1689; which the other Powers also sign'd that same Year, and was called, *The Grand Alliance*; wherein was stipulated, " THAT the contracting Powers should act
 " in a hostile Manner, either jointly or
 " separately, with all their Forces, both
 " by Sea and Land, against the said *French*
 " King, and his Allies. THAT it should
 " not be lawful for either of the Par-
 " ties to withdraw from this War with
 " *France*, or to enter separately upon any
 " Convention or Treaty of Peace, or Ces-
 " sation of Arms, without the Consent or
 " Concurrence of the other Allies. THAT
 " no Peace should be made before the
 " Treaties of *Westphalia*, *Osnaburg*, *Mun-*
 " *ster*, and the *Pyrenees*, should be vindi-
 " cated, and all things both in Church
 " and State restored to their former Con-
 " dition; [for the *French* King had made
 " several Innovations in the Towns and Ci-
 " ties he had conquered in *Germany*, which
 " bore very hard on the Protestants.] —

" THAT

“ THAT all Proposals should be commu-
“ nicated to the whole Allies, and nothing
“ concluded without the Consent and Sa-
“ tisfaction of each Ally. THAT there
“ should remain after the Peace, a defen-
“ sive Alliance among all the Parties a-
“ gainst the Crown of *France*. THAT in
“ case *France* should, after a Peace, attack
“ either of the Allies, they should assist
“ each other with all their Forces, by Sea
“ and Land, and not to desist till Satis-
“ faction be given to the Party offended.
“ THAT they should at all times protect
“ and defend each other's Rights against
“ the Crown of *France*. THAT all Con-
“ troversies between the contracting Par-
“ ties, should be accommodated in a friend-
“ ly Manner.”

THESE were the chief Articles a-
greed to by the Grand Allies, for the Pre-
servation of *Europe*. But notwithstanding
this Precaution, things went on but slowly
against *France*; which if not so powerful
as the whole Confederacy, had some Ad-
vantages beyond them, none of them singly
being in the least able to come in Com-
petition with that Monarchy, which was
very large and populous, and the People
under absolute Subjection; whereas the
Confederates, notwithstanding the great
Dangers that threatned them, were seldom
altogether unanimous, but had their Con-

tests and Jarrings about their respective Interests, or were not without intestine Divisions, as happened to be but too manifest in this Kingdom; which very much hindered the Efforts *England* might have made against the common Enemy.

FRANCE had also this Advantage beyond the Confederates, that being placed, as it were, in the Centre of *Europe*, her Armies seldom had further to march than to the Frontiers of her own Dominions; for such we may account her Conquests, as well as her antient Territories. Thus the *French* Armies had but short Marches into *Germany*, and to the *Dutch* Provinces; their Towns in the *Netherlands*, and on the Confines of *Germany*, being like so many Nurseries for Soldiers, who were ready upon a Call to attack their Enemies. *France* was also in possession of *Pignerol*, and some Dependencies thereof, which gave their Armies an easy Access into *Italy*: Nor was it very difficult for them to make their way into *Spain*, as that Country lies contiguous to several Parts of *France*; and that their Frontier Towns were, many of them, but weak and ill defended. Whereas the Confederates, for the most part, were obliged to act defensively, or to march their Forces a great way, especially from the North of *Germany*,

many, and other Northern Countries, that the Year was often far spent, before they could be brought into the Field; which was very advantageous to *France*, as their Armies were not only form'd before the Northern Confederates could begin their Marches, but were put into such a Situation, as enabled them also to stand their Ground: And in the Space of a few Years, the *French* were grown so powerful at Sea, that they several times encountered the combined Fleets of *England* and *Holland*, tho they were generally worsted.

THIS Excessive Power, with so many Advantages which concur'd together, to render *France* so formidable; justly alarm'd all *Europe*, the See of *Rome* not excepted, which at first stood mostly with the Confederates, lest the *French* King should become universal Monarch; and it was observeable till this Confederacy was form'd, no Year pass'd, wherein he made not some very considerable Acquisition to his Dominions. Nor were the Confederates, after their Union, able to break his Power, or to humble his Pride; for in all the Battles and Encounters, that happened from the Year 1688, to the Year 1697, that the Peace of 1697. *Reswick* was concluded, the Success was various, inclining sometimes to *France*, and sometimes to the Confederates.

BUT

BUT if the Power of *France* was so very considerable before this Time, it became much more so afterwards. The Peace of *Reswick* gave only a short breathing-time to all the Parties engaged in the War; for King *William* was forced to accept the best Terms he could get, the Nation being then under various Discontents, besides the Scarcity of Money, which was occasion'd by the Alteration of the Coin. Some new Conjunctions in the Affairs abroad, carried also a very dismal Aspect; for the King of *Spain* was grown very infirm and sickly, having at the same time no Issue, and it was observable that those who had the Management of his Affairs, were now become cold and indifferent in the common Cause, which created the more Jealousy in the other Confederates, that in the Treaty of *Reswick*, no right Stipulations were made for the Succession of the Crown of *Spain*, to which the *French* King constantly claimed a Right by his Queen, who was the King of *Spain's* eldest Sister, notwithstanding he had before his Marriage renounced the same.

THIS brought on the Partition-Treaty, whereby all the Dominions of old *Spain* and the *Indies* were made over to the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*, the next Male Heir, in case the King of *Spain* should die without Issue; the Duchy of *Milan* to CHARLES Arch-Duke of *Austria*, the Em-
peror's

peror's second Son, who is now Emperor. By the same Treaty, *Sicily* and *Naples* were made over to the *Dauphin*, with all the Territories of *Spain*, situated on the Coast of *Tuscany*; also the Province of *Guipuscoa*, and some Places of Importance on this side the *Pyrenees*. But the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria* dying soon after, another Treaty was agreed to, whereby the Arch-Duke of *Austria* was to have *Spain* and the *Indies*, and the *Dauphin* the Addition of *Lorain* to his Share; *Milan* was to have been made over to the Duke of *Lorain*, the Emperor and the King of the *Romans* being to renounce all Right to the said Monarchy.

BUT tho King *William*, and the *States-General* went further in this Matter than could be well relished by the Subjects of *England*, or by the Emperor and the other Allies, without whose Participation this Treaty was made; yet all the Advantages proposed by it to *France*, were not sufficient to satisfy the Ambition of the *French* King, who aim'd at nothing less than the whole *Spanish* Monarchy, as appeared by what happened soon after. Therefore King *WILLIAM* engaged in this Treaty, to hinder the said Monarchy from falling wholly into his hands, and it was no doubt to prevent Delays that the Emperor and the other Allies were not called into it, whose several Demands and Pretensions must have been answered; which could

could not have been done so soon as was necessary, in so critical a Conjunction. For the *French* Agents were now very active at the Court of *Spain*, to get that King to declare the Succession to his Crown, in favour of the House of *Bourbon*. And how well they succeeded in this Matter, appeared in a very short time, when the King of *Spain* died, and by his last Will left the Duke of *Anjou*, the *Dauphin's* second Son, universal Heir of all his Dominions both in *Europe* and *America*; which the *French* King accepted, tho in Violation of the Partition-Treaty, lately entered into. And in a publick Declaration, he ordain'd, " That the said Duke
 " of *Anjou* his Grand-son should always pre-
 " serve the Rights of his Birth in the same
 " Manner, as if he had actually resided in
 " *France*. That if the *Dauphin* and his el-
 " dest Son the Duke of *Burgundy* should
 " happen to die without Male Issue, in that
 " case the said King of *Spain*, claiming the
 " Rights of his Birth, should be the true and
 " lawful Successor, and Heir of the Crown
 " and Dominions of *France*, tho absent, and
 " that after his Decease, his true and lawful
 " Heirs should come to the same Succession:"
 Whereby the two Monarchies were in danger of being united under one crown'd Head.

THIS Declaration gave the more Surprise, because PHILIP was then but very Young, and the sole Direction of his Affairs were

were altogether under the Management of his Grand-father, and the Court of *France*. He was sent into *Spain* with all possible Expedition, and his Grand-father notify'd his Acceptance of the *Spanish* Monarchy, to all the Courts with whom he held any Correspondence. He was still negotiating with *England* and *Holland*, with a Design, as he always gave out, to prevent the further shedding of Blood, and to confirm the Peace of *Europe*; and divers Conferences had been held, to supply the Defects of the Peace of *Reswick*, and the Partition-Treaty. But no sooner did this Event of the King of *Spain's* Death fall out, that the Succession to the Crown of *Spain* was settled on the *French* King's Grand-son, when it appeared plainly that all the preceding Negotiations of that Court, were only to spin out the Time in Delays: for after this, the *French* Minister at the *Hague* began to change his Countenance, and refused to treat otherwise with the *Dutch*, than separately without the Participation of *England*.

At the same time; the *French* Armies were drawing in very great Numbers towards the *Netherlands*, and were raising new Fortifications almost within Cannon-Shot of the *Dutch* Frontiers; which very much alarm'd that Republick; oblig'd them to cut their Dykes, to put some of their Country under Water, and to be at an equal Expence as in a Time

The INTRODUCTION.

Time of War, without any Benefit to their State; all which they represented to King *William*, praying for speedy Assistance from *England*. This Representation was likewise back'd by the Court of *Vienna*, complaining of the like Incroachments on the side of *Germany*. The *French King* had also drawn the Elector of *Bavaria* over from the Confederate Interest; and had entered into a strict Alliance with the late King of *Sweden*, who was then very young, of a martial Spirit, and had his Head full of Projects, which alarm'd the Princes in the *North* of *Germany*; while others were aw'd by the Power of *France*, which was now become so formidable by the Addition of *Spain*, that they durst not declare their Sentiments.

THE extraordinary Increase of the *French Power*; with the King's open and bare-fac'd Incroachments on his Neighbours, in Violation of the most solemn Engagements, his seizing the Trade of the *Spanish West-Indies*, and debarring the Subjects of other Nations, which was one of the first Steps he took with respect to *Spain*, carry'd such a threatening Aspect, that the Parliament of *England* resolved unanimously to oppose him; though the unseasonable Party-Divisions in this Kingdom proved a no small Encouragement to that Monarch in all his Enterprizes, as it kept the Fire of Dissension always burning; which was often like

to

to produce such Events, as tended to favour his Designs. Nevertheless, the Parliament at this time resolved unanimously to support the *Dutch*, and both Houses addressed the King on that account. The Lords Address was, " That his Majesty would enter in-
 " to a strict League offensive and defensive
 " with the *States-General*, for the com-
 " mon Preservation of both Nations, and
 " invite into it all Princes and States that
 " were concerned in the present visible Dan-
 " ger." And the Commons resolved, *ne-
 mine contradicente*, " That they would ef-
 " fectually assist his Majesty to support his
 " Allies, and would immediately provide
 " Succours for the *States-General*."

THUS far the Parliament thought fit to resolve concerning *France*, judging rightly, that these Encroachments of the *French* Monarch on his Neighbours, would soon affect *England*, unless a timely Stop was put to them: And accordingly a good Number of Forces were sent over the same Year to join the *Dutch*; a good Fleet was also equip'd, and sent to Sea; and Preparations were made to carry on the War vigorously. King *William* also went over to *Holland*, and entered into a fresh Treaty with the Emperor and the *States-General*, in consequence of the Grand Alliance, wherein they agreed mutually to assist each other against the common Enemy, until Satisfaction should be gi-
 ven

ven to the House of *Austria*, in relation to the *Spanish* Succession. That the *Spanish Netherlands* should not be left in the hands of the *French*, and that the *English* and *Dutch* should keep all such Places as they should conquer in the *West Indies* during the War.

WHILE these things were in agitation, King *James* the Second died at *St. Germain's*, and the *French* King acknowledged the Pretender's Title to the Crown of *England*, contrary to the Fourth Article of the Treaty of *Reswick*; which so much incensed People here in *England*, that whatever other Differences happened among them, most were unanimously resolved to resent this Indignity offered by the *French* King, when he had so lately acknowledged King *William's* Title, as established by Parliament.

IN the midst of all these threatening Dangers, the Duke of *Glocester* also died; who being the next Heir to the Crown after the Princess *Anne* his Mother, the settling the Succession became a Matter of the greatest Consequence. King *William* at the same time was in a bad State of Health, but was so careful of the publick Interest, that he made it his chief Business to have the said Succession established on the House of *Hanover*, in case the said Princess *Anne* should die without Issue: for he was so sensible of the ill Consequences that might happen from
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the Divisions and Animosities in this Kingdom, and his Zeal was so great for securing the Protestant Religion and the Liberties of *Europe*, which turned wholly upon this Hinge, of having a Protestant Successor to the Crown, that he thought it the safest way not to leave this Matter undetermin'd in the succeeding Reign ; and therefore he procured an Act in the next ensuing Parliament, declaring the Succession to devolve on the Princess *Sophia*, Electress Dowager of *Hanover*, as the next Protestant Heir, and the Heirs of her Body being Protestants. This Act had the Royal Assent given it the 12th of *June* 1701 ; and the 8th of *March* next following, K. *William* died, having a little before his Death procured another Act to make good the above-mentioned Succession, as the best Expedient to disappoint those who were in hopes, by the assistance of *France*, to make way for the Pretender, and by that means to accomplish the old Design of introducing Arbitrary Power, and restoring Popery in this Kingdom. He also very earnestly recommended the Union between the two Kingdoms, that the Succession might be established in *Scotland* as well as in *England*, and as the best Means to strengthen the Efforts made against the Common Enemy ; for which his Memory will always be grateful to Posterity.

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A
 SUPPLEMENT
 TO THE
 HISTORY
 OF
 QUEEN *ANNE*, &c.

QUEEN *ANNE* being the next Protestant Heir to her Sister *Mary*, came peaceably to the Crown upon the Death of King *William*; notwithstanding the Affairs abroad were in a troubled Condition, and the Nation at home full of unseasonable Divisions. 1702.

sions. Those who adhered to the Revolution Principles could object nothing against her, not only as she was married to a Protestant Prince, but as she join'd in the Revolution, and to outward appearance always adhered to the same Principles. Neither was she opposed by those who were in the Pretender's Cause. For besides that Things were not come to that maturity, so as to enable the Pretender's Friends to make any Attempt against her Succession to the Crown; they were also buoy'd up with new Hopes upon this extraordinary Event of King *William's* Death, who always acted from an invincible Principle in opposition to all their Schemes : Whereas

*The State
of Affairs
upon
Queen
Anne's Ac-
cession to
the Crown.*

Queen *Anne*, tho they knew she was ambitious of coming to the Crown, yet they foresaw from the State of Affairs abroad, and the Temper of the Nation at home, that their Cause would be in some likelihood of gathering strength during her Reign: And the rather, because the Queen had so much Partiality towards her Father, that she was no real Enemy to those who adhered to his Interest ; and being herself past all Hopes of having more Children to inherit the Crown after her, they always imagined this would render her indifferent as to the Succession in the House of *Hanover*.

UPON these Views the Schemes of this Party were greatly forwarded, to which the Circumstances of Affairs at that time very much

much contributed. For tho' the Nation had been so alarm'd with the Dangers that threatened their Religion and Liberties before the Revolution, that most People had conceived a great Aversion to Popery and Arbitrary Power, whereby things were carry'd on with great Unanimity in behalf of the Common Interest for some time; yet it was not long, when this Surfeit began to wear off, and the old Feuds were again revived. Many who had shewn themselves sufficiently zealous in the Revolution-Cause, began to grow cold and indifferent; some thro' their Inconstancy, and some from Views of Ambition and Self-Interest. And *K. William* being a Stranger, could never gain the Love and Affection of the common People, while so many Engines were set on foot to bias their Judgments against their true Interest. Therefore such was the general Disposition of the Nation upon the Queen's Accession to the Throne, that nothing could so effectually have stilled their Differences, as the Expectations, which some, who were disgusted at *King William's* Government, had in the Queen; and the Dangers that threatened this Kingdom, and all *Europe*, from the excessive Power of *France*, which rendered most Protestants unanimous in going to war, whatever other Differences were among them. Whereupon the Duke of *Marlborough* was appointed Commander in Chief

War pro-
claim'd a-
gainst
France.

of the Army by the Queen, and a Declaration of War against *France* was issued forth the 4th of *May*, about two Months after her Accession to the Crown.

The begin-
ning of her
Reign Suc-
cessful.

HER Reign began with Success both by Sea and Land, nor was there any Encouragement wanting to enable the Duke of *Marlborough* to proceed with Vigour against the common Enemy : for at this time the Duke was mostly inclined to favour the High-Church Party, who carry'd the greatest sway ; as did also the Lord *Godolphin* ; So that no opposition was made either to the Alliances abroad, or to the raising the Supplies at home ; because the High-Church Party look'd upon those two Lords, and some others who were in chief Confidence with the Queen, as their own ; And the Low-Church Party contributed chearfully to the Common Cause, which they had favoured all along, as being every way agreeable to their Sentiments.

ABOUT the latter end of the Year 1703. *Charles* Archduke of *Austria* being pro-claim'd King of *Spain*, by virtue of the late Alliances; came over to *England*, and from thence was conducted to *Portugal* the Spring following, on board the Confederate Fleet, in order to take possession of *Spain*, by the assistance of the Confederate Forces, who arrived with him in *Portugal*. For the King of *Portugal*, who had been awed into a Treaty

Treaty with the *French*, contrary to his Interest, relinquish'd his Engagements as soon as the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets appeared to defend his Coasts from the Insults of *France*. And the Duke of *Savoy*, who had been trap'd in the same Snare, also left the *French*, and join'd the Allies, notwithstanding his two Daughters were married, the one to the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Dauphin's eldest Son, and the other to the present King of *Spain*, his second Son. In this time the Allies took *Vento* from the *French*, as also *Ruremond*, *Stevensvaert*, and the Citadel of *Liege*; and at Sea destroy'd the *French* and *Spanish* Ships at *Vigo*, from whence they brought a considerable deal of rich Booty, besides several important Advantages which Prince *Eugene* gain'd in *Italy*; all which portended well to the Confederate Interest.

BUT in the midst of these Successes abroad, the Divisions at home began soon to come to a great height. For this same Year the Bill against Occasional Conformity was brought into the House of Commons, and carry'd by a Majority in that House; which caused several Conferences between them and the Lords, who look'd upon it both as unreasonable and uncharitable; and of this mind were also some of the Bishops, so that it was rejected. But so earnest were the Commons to have this Bill pass, that they

brought it again upon the Stage the next Session, with a design to work out some Great Men who favour'd the Dissenters, and to bring the Management of Affairs wholly into the hands of their own Party. The Duke of *Marlborough*, the Lord *Godolphin*, and some others of their Friends voted at first for that Bill ; but finding that such Divisions might have an unhappy Tendency, and that the Schemes of this Party were inconsistent with the publick Interest and the Measures then on foot, were at last not only forced to leave them, but to use all possible means to have them discountenanced, and in the Elections to have such Members chosen to sit in Parliament, as would give no Interruption to the War, by refusing or retarding the necessary Supplies, or doing any other Thing that might encourage the Enemy : Such as would maintain the Laws, that had been made to promote Unanimity among Protestants, who would reject those Schemes that tended to Persecution, and to favour Arbitrary Measures of any kind, and who in their Principles, were firm to the Revolution, and every thing that might preserve Liberty and Property.

WHEN this was accomplished, all Things went on smoothly Every Year was crowned with fresh Victories. And in the Year 1706, the Union of the two Kingdoms, which before had been several times at-

attempted in vain, was agreed to by the Commissioners of both sides, and passed without much Opposition in both Houses, the next ensuing Session; which strengthen'd the Nation and the whole Confederacy against the Common Enemy, and added so much Power to those who were at the head of Affairs here, that they met with no Interruption in their Proceedings for some time. The *French* Armies, which were driven out of *Germany*, after the famous Battle of *Hackstet*, could never return any more, to disturb the Empire; and besides many signal pitch'd Battles, which the Confederates won in *Flanders*, they became also possessed of the Enemies strongest Towns; which extraordinary Events humbled the *French* Monarch to that degree, that in *May* 1709, when the War had continued about seven Years, he sued for Peace: and his Ministers, who were the Marquis de *Torcy*, and the President de *Rouvill*e, met the Duke of *Marlborough* and the Lord Viscount *Townshend*, with the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries, at the *Hague*, where Prince *Eugene* came also on the Emperor's account. Here the *French* Ministers offered in their Masters Name, by way of Preliminary, "THAT he would consent to the Demolition of *Dunkirk*.—THAT he would abandon the Person, called *Prince of Wales*, and send him forth of his Dominions,—THAT he would acknowledge

The Union of the two Kingdoms, and other favourable Events.

The French King sues for Peace.

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“ the Queen’s Title, and the Succession as
 “ established on the House of *Hanover*.—
 “ THAT he would renounce all Pretensions
 “ to the *Spanish* Monarchy.—THAT he
 “ would quit his Pretensions to the Towns
 “ and Fortresses of *Ypres, Furnes, Menin,*
 “ *Tournay, Lille, Conde, Maubege,* and
 “ other Places, necessary for a Barrier to
 “ the United Provinces. And to the
 “ Empire, that he would restore all Things
 “ as had been settled by the Treaty of
 “ *Reswick*; and further, that he would de-
 “ stroy the Fortifications of the City of *Straf-*
 “ *burg.*”

BUT the Duke of *Marlborough*, the
 Prince of *Savoy*, and the other Ministers of
 the confederated Powers, did not look
 upon these Offers as sufficient from a Prince,
 who had so often broke through the most
 solemn Engagements, nor such as would make
 sufficient Recompence to each Party; for the
 vast Charge they had been at, in carrying on
 the War against him; nor that any Terms
 obtain’d on that footing, would be a suffi-
 cient Security to prevent a War for the fu-
 ture, especially if the *Spanish* Monarchy
 should continue in his Grand-son’s hands,
 of which they had already found the danger-
 ous Effects, as he had been thereby enabled
 to stand out against the most powerful Con-
 federacy that ever was form’d in *Europe*;
 and therefore they propos’d other Terms

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to

to the *French* Plenipotentiaries, such as they judged would establish a just Balance of Power, and would give Satisfaction to all the Parties engaged in the War against that Monarch. The principal Confederates were not only agreed as to their own several Demands and Pretensions, so that there was no Misunderstanding among them, but they had also taken care of the Interests of all the rest, reserving still a Power of making such further Demands, as might be necessary to render the Peace firm and lasting. The present Emperor; who was then Arch-Duke of *Austria*, and had been proclaimed King of *Spain*, was to have had that Monarchy for his Share, and the *French* King to join with the Allies in all such Measures, as should be judg'd necessary to make his Grandson abandon the same, in case of his Refusal. And as Provision was to have been made, that no Branch of the House of *Bourbon* should inherit the *Spanish* Monarchy, so the Emperor was also to have renounced all Title to that Kingdom, and all possible Precaution was likewise to have been taken, in case of the Emperor's Death without Issue, that *Spain* and the Empire should not be united. A good and sufficient Barrier was to have been provided for the States-General, according to the Tenure of the Grand Alliance, and Care would have been taken for the effectual Demolition of *Dunkirk*, and what-
ever

ever might tend to advance the Trade of *Great Britain*. For in case the Queen had made Peace with *France* at that time, while her Armies were attended with such continued Successes, and while all the Confederates were so unanimous, as she must have been the chief Arbiter in settling every one's Pretensions, so as *France* on the one hand would not have been in a Condition to have stood out against her Demands, in Matters of Trade; neither could her Allies have opposed any Advantages this Nation should have gained that way, as the Successes against the common Enemy were chiefly owing to the Share *Great Britain* had taken in the War, and that without consenting to her Demands, their own could not have been answered.

THUS the Plenipotentiaries of the Allies judged nothing less could enable them to treat rightly with *France*; and tho' their Demands were indeed pretty high, both as to the Towns that were to have been given up in *Germany*, and the *Netherlands*, and likewise as to *Philip's* abandoning *Spain*; yet the *French* Ministers consented to them, and the Marquis de *Torcy* posted to *Versailles*, with an Intention as he pretended to get them confirm'd by his Master, alledging that their Instructions did not reach to every particular Article. But the *French* Forces in *Spain*, having about this time made themselves Masters of *Alicant*, and having
also

also obtain'd a small Victory over a Body of *Portuguese*, King *Lewis* thereupon thought fit to delay, till after the Campaign, having a very great Army in the *Netherlands*, from which he had no small Expectations. But he was greatly disappointed, for the Confederates took *Tournay*, beat the *French* in a signal Battle near *Mons*, and afterwards made themselves Masters of that strong City and Fortrefs. And before the Summer was ended, the Affairs of *Spain* took also a Turn, that was very favourable to the Allies; Count *Staremborg*, who commanded the confederate Forces there, having obtain'd several Advantages over King *Philip*, whereby that whole Kingdom, which had been in a manner lost after the Battle of *Almanza*, was now in a fair way of being again recovered by the Confederates: which, with the Loss of *Mons* and *Tournay*, proved so great a Mortification to the *French* King, that in the beginning of the next Year, *viz.* 1710, he was again very solicitous to renew the Conferences; which accordingly began this Year in *March*, at *Gertruydenburg*, and continued till *July*, when they broke up without coming to any Conclusion: The *French* having gone back from their former Proposals, and having made new Offers, which were no ways satisfactory to the Allies. The Causes of which, and the extraordinary Events that followed, will now be related at some Length.

WHEN

*Divisions
at Home.*

WHEN Things were thus brought very near to a Crisis abroad, it was observable that an unruly Ferment was working in the Minds of Multitudes of People at home, who were disaffected to the publick Interest, from various Motives, as is usual in all such Circumstances, when the best Measures are on foot. The Duke of *Marlborough*, who by reason of his great Successes, had obtain'd the chief Sway in all Affairs, was not without Abundance of Enemies who envy'd his good Fortune, tho there was indeed no Man in the Kingdom so fit as himself for the Command of the Army. He was wise in all his Undertakings, having never engaged in any Affair of Moment without Advice, which was a Blemish in King *William's* Character, who otherwise was a very great General, but would often follow his own Schemes, contrary to the Opinion of his best Counsellors. But when the Command of the Army was first confer'd upon the Duke, tho his Experience in Military Affairs was then but small, yet his Excellency lay in this, that he never did any thing, but in concert with those who had most Experience, and carefully weigh'd whatever was propos'd to him; and having join'd Diligence and Industry along with his other great Talents, he soon excelled all other Men, both in Conduct and Success.

BUT

BUT the higher the Duke advanced in Fame, the more he was envy'd, and there were many Circumstances, that concur'd to increase the Number of his Enemies. Especially his vast Riches, and an Opinion many had conceived of him, that he was covetous, ^{jealousies} ^{stirred up} because he enjoyed so many Places, both of ^{against the} Honour and Profit; being not only Com- ^{Duke of} mander in Chief of the Army, by which he ^{Marlbo-} had the Disposal of all Military Employ- ^{rough.} ments, but also being Master-General of the Ordnance, and Colonel of the first Regiment of Foot-Guards. The Dutchess was Groom of the Stole to the Queen, and Privy-Purse, whereby she had constantly the Queen's Ear and Pocket; which gave no small Offence to some of the Nobility, who perhaps considered their own Merits, no otherwise than as being of more ancient or greater Extraction than the Duke and Dutchess, and might therefore be displeased that they could not have the Preference in the Queen's Favour.

THE Duke's Family was also very much strengthened in Alliances with other great and powerful Families; for his only Son being dead, he had matched his eldest Daughter to the Lord Treasurer *Godolphin's* eldest Son. Another he had married to the Earl of *Sunderland*, who was at that time principal Secretary of State; a third to the Earl of *Bridgewater*; and the youngest to the

the present Duke of *Montagu*, who was then Marquis of *Monthermer*, his Father being at that time alive: which created a no small Jealousy among some sort of People, who did all they could to prepossess Mens Minds with Fears, lest the Command of the Army, the Treasury, and all Affairs of State, being as it were in the hands of one Family, and the Duke of *Marlborough* being in such great Authority with the Allies abroad, might be the Means to endanger the Constitution.

THE greatest and ablest Men of the Kingdom, were also of the Duke's Party, and gave their Concurrence to all the Measures then on foot, both in relation to foreign and domestick Affairs. The Earl *Godolphin* was an able States-man of long Experience, especially in the Treasury; having been a Commissioner many Years, before he was made Lord Treasurer: and tho he was an honest Man, as appeared afterwards, when a Scrutiny was made into his Conduct, yet being so nearly allied to the Duke, by the strongest Tyes of private Interest, it proved the Means to heighten Peoples Jealousies very much; so that he was by many looked upon as a dangerous Person, to be in so high a Trust. And therefore this Ministry were never without some Opposition, even when they were in their greatest Vogue, and abundance of pains was taken both in publick

publick and private, to embarras their Measures.

THE late Earl *Cowper*, who was then Lord Chancellor, owed his Rise chiefly to the Lord Treasurer, and the other great Men of that Party. He had a ready Wit and accurate Judgment, and was the greatest Orator of his Time. He presided in many Affairs of greatest Moment, particularly at the making of the Union, wherein he acquitted himself so handsomely, as he did on many other publick Occasions, that it might be justly said of him, what *Ben Johnson* said of the Lord *Verulam*: " That he commanded where he spoke, that he had his Judges angry and pleased at his Devotion : " That no Man had their Affections more " in his power, and that the Fear of every " Man that heard him, was lest he should " make an end."

THE Lord *Somers*, the late Chancellor, was also in great Repute, as an able and grave Counsellor, but was grown somewhat infirm, and therefore unfit for the Toils of Business; tho' his Advice was much followed, being an able Lawyer and a Man of great Experience in Affairs. The late Lord *Halifax*, another very great Man, was in his full Vigour. He had a very extensive Genius, which rendred his Advice useful in all Affairs, besides that he was a Master in all kinds of polite Learning, and a Favourer of Men

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of Merit, which procured him many Friends. The two Secretaries, *viz.* the Earl of *Sunderland*, the Duke's Son-in-Law, and Mr. *Boyle*, who was afterwards created Lord *Carleton*, were both of them Men of great Application and Vigilance, who being also in their Prime, were therefore the more fit for the vast Burden of Affairs, that lay upon them.

BUT the Earl of *Wharton*, excelled all others in Readiness of Wit, and Quickness of Penetration. He was also very active and indefatigable, by which he came to know the Strength and Weakness of those who opposed the publick Measures, and seldom failed to get Intelligence of their most secret Combinations and Intrigues. He did not affect formal Speeches, but having a prompt and ready Eloquence join'd with an uncommon Share of Courage, so he never fail'd to encounter those who were of greatest Note, among the opposite Party; for he could soon discern how far Self prevail'd in any of them, and always laid open their most interested and selfish Views, by the plainest Construction that could be made of their own Words and Actions; and all this with such a peculiar Sharpness of Wit, and with so much Pleasantry, that as his Observations were no less entertaining, than truly convincing to those who heard him speak, so they often put his Adversaries to Confusion and Silence.

BE-

BESIDES these, there were many of the Nobility and Gentlemen of best Account, who sided with the Ministry, in all their publick Measures. They had also a Majority among the Bishops, who espoused their Sentiments. As also most of those who were distinguished by their Wit or Learning, who naturally approved their Conduct, because it was the most rational and the most adapted to the Honour and Safety of the Nation. Likewise the Merchants and most Persons concerned in Trade, were generally on this side, because they looked on their Interest to be altogether precarious, unless such a Ballance should be established, as might put it out of the power of *France*, or any other Nation, to hurt our Commerce; and as they had this in view, so they all along contributed cheerfully to support the War, and all other Exigencies of the State.

THESE great Men being thus strengthened with so powerful a Body, there seem'd to be no human Probability that any Thing should be able to give them the least Interruption in their Proceedings, much less to move them out of the Queen's Favour, for whom in particular they had done such great Things; having rendered her Name no less famous over the World, than that of her great Predecessor Queen *Elizabeth*. Besides that the Party who opposed them, consisted chiefly of such Persons, who albeit

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they gave themselves out to be the only true Friends of the established Church, yet their Principles were generally disliked by those who had the best Notions of what was truly for the good of the Nation, and the Protestant Interest, in regard their Schemes were too narrow and limited with respect to other Protestants, and inconsistent with their own Profession, as they generally fell in with Papists and Jacobites, who were known Enemies to the Constitution in Church and State. Neither had they Men who were thought to be of sufficient Reputation to take up the Burden of their Cause, in case they had been able to carry their Point against the Duke of *Marlborough* and his Friends. For the Duke of *Ormond* was the only Person they could set up as his Competitor, a Man no ways qualified for it, his Head being turned more to Show and Ostentation, than to the real Employments of a General; which however rendered him more popular than the other, who studiously avoided all such Things. In civil Affairs, *Robert Harley* was the fittest Person to be employed, tho' a Man of an obnoxious Character. He had been thrice Speaker of the House of Commons, was well acquainted with the Business of that House, and the Characters of the leading Members. He had likewise been one of the principal Secretaries of State, but continued only a short while in that Office, being discarded

*Mr. Harley
and others
who oppos'd
the Ministry.*

carded upon account of one *Gregg*, a Clerk of the Office, who was executed for keeping a secret Correspondence with *France*. The Particulars of this Story are sufficiently known to many Persons yet alive, and therefore need not be told here; only thus much, that the Ministry having pressed this *Gregg* very earnestly, with a Promise of Pardon, in case he had accus'd *Harley*, which *Gregg* never would do, this so much disgusted *Harley*, that he was ever after plotting the Downfall of the Duke of *Marlborough* and his Party, and therefore fell in with all the Clamours that were rais'd against them. But he lay under several Disadvantages, which very much lessened his Credit, among all sorts of People. For even this Affair of *Gregg* was imputed to his Negligence, by those who believed him to be otherwise innocent. He was not much beloved by either Side; the High-Church Party were afraid to trust him because his Father Sir *Edward Harley*, and most of his Relations had been Dissenters, and because he came into play first of all by their Interest. The Papists and Nonjurors us'd to shew no liking to him, for the same Reason, being always afraid he would prove false to them, as indeed he never discovered any great Forwardness in their Cause. The Dissenters on the other hand were no less jealous of him, because in real Deeds he seem'd to fall in

E 3 mostly

mostly with their Enemies, at the same time he always professed Friendship for them, and gave them good Words. Others looked on him as one who lay always on the Catch, to fall in with either Party, where he could best serve his own Turn. He had also very much impair'd his paternal Estate in the pursuit of his Projects, so that he was looked upon by most People to be a dangerous Person, and there was no great Likelihood, as things went, that he should ever come more upon the Stage. There were besides him some few other Persons of Note, who had been in no mean Employments; particularly Mr. & John Secretary of War, a very active Man; also Sir Simon Harcourt an able Lawyer, who had been Solicitor-General; but both were discarded by reason of their Intimacy and Friendship with *Harley*. But at this time of the day, while the other Party was so powerful, and consisted of the greatest and most experienced Men of the Nation, these were looked upon as inconsiderable, and the rather that they could not support any Interest without *Harley*, who was at this time obnoxious to all Sides.

BUT tho' all this promised nothing but the greatest Security to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and to those who were in Employment with him, such as in all human appearance no Envy or Opposition could well overturn; yet too much Power in the hands of

of Subjects, whatever good Use may be made of it, often proves injurious to the Possessors of it, even when there is the least outward Appearance of Danger. The Papists both at home and abroad, and those who were in the Pretender's Interest, had gathered very much Strength during the last two Years, but especially when the Negotiations with *France* broke up, that the People were disappointed in their Expectations of Peace; for then they began to complain loudly of the Continuance of the War, which indeed had put a stop to all manner of Trade, whereby the Poor who were wont to be employed in the Manufactures, came to be in a destitute Condition. New Taxes were rais'd that heightened the Price of many necessary Commodities, which fell chiefly on the poorer Sort; which, with the Scarcity of Corn, and the Rise of the Price of Bread at that time, increased their Miseries very much. And the Land-Tax being continued from Year to Year, at the Rate of four Shillings on the Pound, caused no small Discontent among the Country Gentlemen, that however much they were wont sometimes to applaud the Duke's great Successes, they began now to change their Note, and fell in with those who only envy'd his Fame and great Acquisitions. This gave new Vigour to the Pretender's Friends, who began to be very active, and join'd with Papists to

The Nation full of Discontents.

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debauch the Principles of the ignorant sort, and many of the Clergy were no less industrious in sowing Peoples Minds with a continual Outcry of the Danger of the Church, from the Favour the Government shewed to the Dissenters; insomuch that the Parliament was forced to make some Resolves to put a stop to this unreasonable Clamour, declaring those Enemies to their Country who should affirm the Church of *England* to be in Danger under her Majesty's Administration.

HOWEVER this was not sufficient to stop Peoples mouths, while they laboured under so many Discontents and Jealousies. The Clergy were encouraged by several ambitious Men of their own Order, who themselves were willing to run no hazard, and by other disgusted Persons of whom they might perhaps expect Favours, in Case of a Change; and no doubt some were excited by their own weak Fears and Jealousies, to utter Things both from the Pulpit and in Conversation, that were seditious and uncharitable, and tended to set the Nation on flame: But the great Men generally overlook'd this Misbehaviour in the Clergy, and perhaps thought it prudent so to do, not only because of their Function, but also because they hoped these Clamours would be at an end, so soon as a Peace should be concluded; which they expected could not be

The Behaviour of the Clergy.

be far off, considering the low Ebb things were brought to in *France*; and it would perhaps have been more advisable for them to have continued in the same Resolution, and either to have still overlook'd their Miscarriages, or only to have suffered the Law to take place in the common and usual Way against such Persons, than what they did about this time in the Case of Dr. *Sacheverel*, whose Story must still be so fresh in Memory, that I need not enter upon it as a Thing forgotten or unknown, and which opened a way for the most extraordinary Changes, and such a Succession of Events, as perhaps never happened from the like Occasion, as shall here be shewn in as brief a manner as possible.

THIS *Sacheverel* was the Son of a Dr. Sacheverel his Character. Clergyman, and had his Education at *Oxford*, by the Care of some Benefactors, among whom I have been told Dr. *Burnet*, Bishop of *Sarum*, was one. He was noted there as a Person of a very turbulent and litigious Spirit, and but in very little Esteem among them, while he resided with them. He was vain and aspiring beyond measure, and so hasty for his Doctor's Degree, that he bought it before his Time, at a considerable Price. He had such a high Conceit of his own Talents, that he would always be seeking the most publick Opportunities of exerting them. Towards the latter

latter End of the Summer, in 1709, just about the time when the Conferences broke up at the *Hague*, that the Nation was full of Complaints, he went into *Derbyshire*; where one of the Name of *Sacheverel*, being High Sheriff that Year, he was by him invited to preach at the Assizes; which Sermon was afterwards printed with a Dedication to the said Sheriff, wherein were several Things reflecting on the Government; and being by some Means or other on the 5th of *November* following put up to preach before the Lord Mayor of *London* and Court of Aldermen, he there delivered that Sermon, which made so great a Noise, and brought him upon his Trial.

His sedition-
ous Ser-
mon.

HIS Text was on these Words of *St. Paul*, 2 *Corinth.* Chap. 11. ver. 26. *In Perils among false Brethren*: Where, instead of commemorating the Deliverances that happened on that Day, first by the Discovery of the Powder Plot, and afterwards by King *William's* Landing, whereby the Protestant Religion was twice under God preserved to this and other Nations, as well as our Civil Liberties; he, (to the great Surprize of most of those who heard him) by several plain Inferences, while he was pressing Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance, fell foul on the Revolution and all who espoused such Principles, as being Enemies to their Country. The Duke of
Mart-

Marlborough and the rest of the Ministry, those also in both Houses of Parliament who adhered to them, were the false Brethren he aimed at, because of the Toleration Act which they supported, and which he compared to the *Trojan-Horse* full of Arms and Blood, that would one time or other pull down the Established Church. He made several sly Insinuations against some of the Bishops and other Clergymen, who were not Men of his own Sentiments, (even not sparing his Benefactors) who from Motives of Charity and the Rules of good Policy, concurred with the State in shewing Favour to the Dissenters. Nor did he confine himself to the Living only, but also raked into the Ashes of the Dead, by falling on those who in former Times had been of the same Principles; particularly Archbishop *Grindal*, whom he called a perfidious Prelate and a false Son of the Church, because he had favoured the Puritans in his Time. Notwithstanding that Reverend Father was a Man of an Exemplary Life; was one of the Compilers of the Book of Common-Prayer, and an Exile in Queen *Mary's* Reign for his steady adherence to the Protestant Cause. In short, his whole Sermon was nothing but a Heap of seditious and uncharitable Invectives, full of high-sounding Words and pompous Comparisons, the better to inflame the Minds of the Multitude; and to this end

end he also misapply'd both Scripture and History, and all with an Air of the greatest Assurance.

IT may well be remembred what Noise this Sermon made, being delivered before the chief Persons of the City of *London*, where most of the Supplies were usually raised, and People spoke as they were affected, some applauding the Preacher's Zeal and Courage, others were astonished at his Assurance, and looked upon him as a turbulent Fellow and a mischievous Incendiary, to vent such false Invectives in so solemn a Place, especially at a time which called for the greatest Unanimity. But when this Sermon was printed, it made still a far greater Noise, and was soon spread into all Parts of the Kingdom; so that the Ministry taking great Offence thereat, and their Patience being quite tir'd out with many other Complaints of the same kind, that came from all Quarters, resolved to bring this bold Offender to trial, that they might deter others from the like Practices. For little or nothing was heard from the Pulpit in many Places, especially from the younger Sort of Clergymen, but the Doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance, with such Inferences, as might give People a Dislike to the Ministry, the Revolution-Principles and all the Laws and Constitutions founded upon them; tho indeed Dr, *Sacheverel*

had of all others rendered himself the most obnoxious to Censure, both because of the place where his Sermon was preached, and likewise because the printing of that Sermon had brought it into every body's hands, and made it a Bone of Contention among all sorts of People throughout the Kingdom.

ABOUT this time the Parliament met at *Westminster*, where Complaint being made of the Sermon, it was produced, and several Paragraphs in it were read, with the Dedication of the Sermon preach'd at *Derby*, in order to his Impeachment before the Lords. But some oppos'd this Method of proceeding, thinking it would be doing the Doctor too much honour, and that the Time was not very seasonable to make too great a noise about him, which this would do, and by that means might increase his Party, considering how much the Generality of the Clergy were disgusted; and therefore judg'd it more advisable to have him try'd before some inferiour Court. This was the wisest Advice, as appear'd afterwards. But the Majority falling in with the Great Men, who were for his Impeachment; and those who favour'd the Doctor's Cause being in hopes of some happy Turn by this solemn and august Way of Proceeding, as it would alarm the Nation, did therefore all they could underhand to press it forwards. Whereupon the House resolved,

ved, " THAT both the Books were malicious, scandalous, and seditious Libels, reflecting on the Queen and her Government, the Revolution and Protestant Succession, and upon both Houses of Parliament, tending to alienate the Minds of her Majesty's good Subjects, and to create Jealousies and Divisions among them." The Doctor being also taken into custody, the Commons moved to draw up Articles of Impeachment against him, in order to his Trial. Accordingly they charged the Doctor with High Crimes and Misdemeanours, which they sum'd up in four Articles, founded upon the above-mentioned Resolve, and appointed Managers to carry on the Trial; viz. Mr. Boyle, who was since created Lord Carleton, then one of the Principal Secretaries of State; Sir Robert Walpole; Sir Peter King, the present Lord Chancellor; Sir Thomas Parker, the late Chancellor; Mr. Cowper, Brother to the late Lord of that Name, afterwards Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer; Sir Joseph Jekyll, the present Master of the Rolls; the late Lord Lechmere, Attorney-General; Mr. Pulteney; Mr. Smith, one of the Tellers of the Exchequer; Mr. Hambden, and some others, all Persons of Note, and several of them Men of great Probity and Sufficiency. The Doctor was allowed to have for his Counsel, Sir Simon Harcourt, who was a Rival

He is impeach'd by the House of Commons.

Rival to some of the great Men, and had no small Influence on those who opposed the Court; Sir *Constantine Phipps*; and Mr. *Dee*, a Civilian; besides several others who were Assistants, all of them Men devoted to the Doctor's Cause, except Mr. *Dodd*, who was afterwards made Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

THE Managers, in making good the Articles of Impeachment, discussed many things of Importance to the Nation, wherein People had been misled by the Doctor and other such Engines. The Doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance, which had been so often made use of as a Handle to gratify Mens private Views, and to cast an Odium on the Revolution, thereby to influence Peoples Minds against the Succession in the House of *Hanover*, was exposed as seditious, when preached up to serve those pernicious Ends; and such Persons were proved Enemies to the Nation, who made this their constant Topick, at a time when none of the Subjects had in the least opposed the Queen and Government, but had contributed cheerfully in all Exigencies against the common Enemy: And that these Preachers were themselves the only Persons guilty of the Crimes against which they inveigh'd so loudly in their Sermons. The Resistance made at the Revolution in 1688, was justify'd, where there was a total Sub-

His Trial. version of the Religion, Laws and Liberties of the People; and as it was begun and carry'd on with the Concurrence and Voice of the whole Nation, so it was warranted from Reason and the constant Practice of this Kingdom; the Subjects having in all times of Danger stood up in defence of their Liberties. The just Rights of the Royal Prerogative and the Rights of the Subjects were both set forth and maintain'd, according to the Fundamental Constitution of *England*. The Honour of the Government was also vindicated, and the Toleration granted to Protestant Dissenters, warranted, as being altogether consistent with the Safety of the Established Church, and not only agreeable to Christian Charity, but to that Clemency and Tenderneſs which all good Governments ought to shew, to every part of the Community.

THESE being the chief Matters wherein the Doctor had given Offence, the Managers therefore insisted much upon them in their Pleadings, so as to make out the Charge against him in each Article; besides his Blunders, his false Application of Scripture and other Particulars, which some of them thought fit also to animadvert upon, perhaps that his Friends might not think too highly of him: for the common People, and those who were fond of Novelties, began to idolize him very much. The Bishops being

HISTORY of *Queen ANNE*.

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being likewise required to give their Opinion in this Trial, to satisfy those who might think the Doctor hardly dealt with, in case the Bishops had been altogether silent. Therefore several of that Reverend Bench spoke their Minds freely, particularly Dr. *Burnet* Bishop of *Sarum*, an honest publick-spirited Man, who was very zealous and active for the Protestant Interest and the Succession in the House of *Hanover*, and had been formerly no less active and zealous for the Revolution, which rendered him very obnoxious to all the disaffected Party. This Reverend Prelate recited most of the Transactions of that and the preceding Times, wherein he set forth the ill use had been made of the Doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance to carry on the Designs of some bad Men, and in particular to flatter weak or bad Princes in their Encroachments on their Subjects Liberties, and made just Observations on the Calamities which such things had brought upon the Nation. The present Bishop of *Durham* spoke also on the same Side, and Dr. *Trimnel*, who was then Bishop of *Norwich*, tho a Man of a mild peacable Disposition, yet could not forbear taking notice of the evil Tendency of that Sermon, and therefore gave his Judgment against it. But Dr. *Wake*, the present Archbishop of *Canterbury*,
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who was then Bishop of *Lincoln*, canvassed every part of the Sermon very narrowly, and confirm'd all the Managers had said to make out the Charge on each Article, by giving a further Insight into the Tendency of his whole Discourse; which he did with great Judgment and Perspicuity, and that by the most fair and candid Construction that could be put upon it; having also taken notice, as some of the Managers had done before, that the Doctor had misapply'd History and Scripture to promote those Designs which had been charged upon him, in the Articles of Impeachment.

NOW it was the Design of the Ministry and the other leading Men in both Houses, to expose the unreasonableness of the Complaints that had been made against the Government, and they were in hopes such a publick Trial might be the Means to make the whole Nation sensible how much they had been imposed on by those, who from a false Pretence of Religion and Zeal for the Established Church, were only carrying on such Designs as might in the end destroy the Constitution, or at least might have this unhappy Effect, to retard the Measures that were then on foot against the common Enemy. But how far they succeeded in this, was soon manifest from the Changes that happened. For this extraordinary way of proceeding against the Doctor, instead of con-

convincing Men of their Folly, it rendered them the more outrageous. And as the unusual Solemnity of the Trial made a very great noise, not only throughout this Nation, but over all *Europe*, so those who were Enemies to the common Cause and the Welfare of *England* improved every Circumstance to incense the People more than ever against the Government; and that which encouraged them above all things, was a Rumour that the Queen secretly favoured the Doctor's Cause, which in the Issue proved true, as will anon appear.

DURING the time of this long Trial, which lasted most part of the Spring, there happened great Disorders in diverse Parts of the Kingdom, stirred up by disaffected Persons; and at *London* the Doctor was every day attended to *Westminster*, and back to the *Temple*, where he lodged, with very great Crowds of Rabble, who insulted all Persons whom they met unless they would join with them in their Huzza's and Acclamations of Applause to the Doctor and *High-Church for ever*, which was their common Cry. This was at first in some measure overlook'd by the Government, who probably imagin'd that sort of People would soon be tir'd out with their daily Attendance, or at least as most of them were Servants and Apprentices, that their Masters would not permit them long to leave their

Business: but it happened quite otherwise ; for the Disaffection became like a contagious Distemper, which seizes without distinction. The Servants were encouraged by their Masters, and Money was given to spirit up the Mob, who went in great Bodies and pulled down several of the Dissenters Meeting Houses, and committed many other Outrages, until a stop was put to their Career, by sending Soldiers among them. But when these Tumults were suppressed about *London*, the Mob in the Country fell upon the Meeting Houses in several other Towns and Cities ; and not only insulted the Dissenters, but those who favoured them, being encouraged and connived at by Mayors, Justices, and other Officers of the Peace. By this means his Cause gathered strength, and Reports were spread throughout the whole Kingdom, that he had been prosecuted for no other reason, but his Adherence to the Church and Monarchy, which were industriously put together, that those who had called him to account for his Doctrines, might be looked upon as Persons of Antimonarchical Principles, and Enemies to the Established Church ; which gave the generality of People, (who were now grown in a manner infatuated) very ill Impressions of the Ministry, by which means the great Things they had done for the Honour and Safety of the Nation and the Good of all Christendom,

Christendom, were in a great measure trampled under foot.

BUT besides the restless Endeavours of openly disaffected Persons, who had a deep Share in all these Disorders; the Methods taken by the Doctor's Friends in his Trial, contributed also very much to give strength to that Cause, by bringing him into great Credit as an honest and publick-spirited Man, who had stood up manfully in a time of imminent Danger. His Counsel being sensible that the Insinuations of his Sermon were so open and barefac'd that they might justly render him obnoxious to Censure and Punishment, did therefore all that was in their power; both in the Answers to the Articles of Impeachment; and in their Pleadings, to clear his Intentions from the Imputation of Disloyalty to the Queen, and Disrespect to the Government. The like Care was taken of his Speech, which made so great noise; in composing of which, besides his Counsel, some Clergymen were thought to be concerned; viz. Dr. Atterbury, Dr. Moss and Dr. Smallridge; because they were frequently with him in *Westminster-Hall*, and at his Apartments in the Temple. Atterbury was a proud obstinate Man, and a hot Stickler against Men of moderate Principles, which caused him to be much cry'd up by some sort of People, tho he was no Friend to the present happy Establishment, as has

Methods taken to promote the Doctor's Cause.

since been made manifest. He had the Reputation of being a fine Preacher, but his Delivery was so affected, that many of the younger Clergymen studying to imitate him, rendered themselves very ridiculous by it. *Moss* was also esteem'd for his preaching, But Dr. *Smallbridge* had most Learnings; he was modest withal, but having been much at *Oxford*, he there imbib'd some narrow Principles, tho' otherwise he was reckoned a deserving Man. Besides Dr. *Smallbridge*, there were also some other Persons of good Reputation, both among the Nobility, the Bishops and Clergy, who at the same time they did not altogether approve of the Violence and Bitterness of the Doctor's Sermon, yet fell into the same Sentiments: among whom was *Sir William Dawes* then Bishop of *Chester*, Dr. *Sharp* Archbishop of *York*, and Dr. *Compton* Bishop of *London*. The two last were the more regarded, that they stood up so strenuously against the Arbitrary Measures of King *James's* Reign, but being both grown very old and infirm, were now much abused by *Atterbury* and some other Clergymen, who kept a constant Watch over them, and took the advantage of their great Age, and their Inability to go abroad, to impose many Falshoods upon them. Nevertheless those who affected a more than ordinary Zeal for the Established Church, thought the better of their Cause,

that

that two Prelates of so great Reputation patronized it : And when the Doctor's Speech came to be published, tho as to the matter of it, there was neither that Submission shewn to the Government, nor that charitable Temper which became a Christian Minister, yet as they had been careful to avoid such Bitterness of Expression as was in the Sermon, and likewise to colour over some things that had given Offence, so it had a very bad Tendency.

THIS Speech contain'd many Insults, cloath'd under the soft Appearance of Duty and Humility, and was full of the most solemn Protestations of his Innocency ; so that it could not fail to gain upon the ignorant sort, and those who were prejudiced against the publick Measures. A way was also opened into the Queen's Favour by many flattering Protestations for her Honour and Safety ; and the better to impose on the Queen and the High-Church Party, References were made to the Writings of several Bishops, and other Eminent Divines, concerning Passive-Obedience and Non-Resistance, and to the Homilies concerning Rebellion ; which were publish'd with his Speech, that it might be thought he had preached no other Doctrines than those of the Church of *England* ; and to put the best Colour upon his Insinuations against the Toleration, those Persons were only com-

plain'd of, who would conform meerly for the sake of Employments in the Government, and upon no other account. Some licentious Passages extant in divers Books and Libels were also publish'd, as those things against which the Doctor had inveigh'd with so much warmth in his Sermon; which being mentioned in this Speech with a Concern such as seem'd becoming a Minister of the Gospel, his Zeal and Conduct was therefore much approved. But as most People saw plainly that the Drift of this Sermon was against the Toleration, which was become very odious after all this Noise about it; so it was made use of as a further Aggravation against the Ministry, that they had suffered such impious Books to be printed, without inflicting some exemplary Punishment on the Authors and Publishers of them. And therefore those in Power were in all places represented as Persons who countenanced Schism, and all manner of Irreligion; whereby the Speech had a worse effect upon the Publick than the Sermon, notwithstanding the Managers made it appear that the Authors of some of these Books had been prosecuted, that others had been dead a long time, and that some of these Books had been printed abroad, and were sent oyer privately into the Kingdom; and that others were so very insignificant, that they had lain several Years in Obscurity,

until

until the Doctor and his Friends had revived them, to evade the Charge brought against him. Upon the whole, the Doctor ^{His Sentence.} was voted guilty by a great Majority; his two Sermons were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common Hangman, and himself forbid to preach for three Years. The Lords also, to shew their just Indignation against the Books produced by the Doctor, ordered them likewise to be burnt in the same manner. And when the Queen came to the House in *April* following, she declared her Resentment particularly against those who had taken false Impressions, from the Artifices made use of to impose on the Publick a Belief that the Church was in danger, because some licentious Libels had crept forth, which she said was an Evil complain'd of in all Ages, and could not be altogether prevented by the greatest Care and Vigilancy. In the same Speech she took notice, that as she had at all times been forward to suppress Vice and Irreligion, so she was ready to give Assent to any good Laws that should be thought of, utterly to discountenance all such Licentiousness.

HITHERTO the Queen spoke the Sentiments of her Ministers, tho by this time her Mind was very much alienated from them. And it was even observed after the Death of the Prince of *Denmark* her Husband, which happened near two Years before

fore this Trial, that he grew more cold and indifferent towards them, than when he was alive. That Prince being somewhat infirm and unactive, neither affected the Grandeur of a Crown, nor the Tolls of Business, tho he had right Sentiments concerning the publick Affairs. He was always for a strict Harmony with the Allies abroad, and being himself of a different Profession from the Established Church, was by that means also a Friend to the Toleration. But the Queen, as to her private Opinion, was of another mind: only out of respect to the Prince, and because the Toleration was granted before her Time, she also comply'd with the Continuance of it. She was indeed religiously inclined, but fell in chiefly with those whose Principles were the most stiff and rigid; who prepossessed her strongly against the Dissenters, as being a turbulent factious sort of People, and the chief Instruments of the Calamities that fell upon her Grandfather King Charles the First; tho it has appeared by many Discoveries made since his Time, that most of those Evils were owing to some Defects in his Education, and some peculiar Weaknesses in himself. The Queen was also as to her Temper somewhat proud and morose, which exposed her very much to be overcome by the Flattery; and therefore the High-Church Party always gain'd most upon her, by their

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*The High-Church
Party take
advantage
of the
Queen's
Weakness.*

superiour pretence of Duty and Loyalty, and Concern for her Prerogative. Besides this, she had been for several Years afflicted with the Gout and other bodily Infirmities, and in her widowed State she was apt to think herself neglected upon every occasion, because some might no doubt take more upon them now, than when the Prince was alive.

HOWEVER, these Weaknesses in the Queen, and the want of some little Observance in the Ministry, made way for those who before had most of her Affection. And it was much taken notice of, that Mr. *Harley* had frequent access to her during the Trial, occasion'd partly by his own deluding Address, and partly by the Instances of some Clergymen, who were continually buzzing strange Stories into her ears. For tho the Clergy were not without their Jealousies of him, as a Person who could not safely be intrusted with their Interests; yet he soon overcame all this, and insinuated himself very much into their Favour, the Time being now the most seasonable, when they were impatient for a Change, and could not fix their Eyes upon any other so well qualified to effect it; and therefore they did all they could to establish him with the Queen, which was the more easy, that the Queen herself had always a particular liking to him. Besides him, several others also got

Admittance privately upon the same account, who were not a little instrumental in her coming every day to the House during the Trial, notwithstanding her bad State of Health. Where altho her Title was fully asserted on the foot of the Revolution, as the best Security of her Crown and Dignity, yet these Persons who were now got so much into her good Graces, represented it as a very bold and insolent Attempt; in her Subjects, to presume to argue a Point in her Royal Presence, which concerned her so nearly. That this was the highest affront they could put upon her, and could have no other Tendency than to make her look despicable in the Eyes of her People. Several Expressions of the Managers were taken hold of, and interpreted to a very bad Sense, and the whole Matter of the Trial was represented as a Combination in favour of some Designs in the Ministry, which were with much Industry given out to be against her Majesty's Honour and the Good of the Constitution. The Sufferings of Dr. *Sacheverel* were represented to be very hard and unwarrantable, and as they took all imaginable pains to colour over his Crimes, so they insinuated that his Loyalty to her Person, and Zeal for the Established Church, had been the chief Cause of their Resentment against him.

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THESE Insinuations could not fail of having a very sensible Effect on the Queen's Mind, especially since all imaginable pains was also taken to magnify the Duke of *Marlborough's* Power and great Interest, not only as it stood with the Allies abroad, but with his Kindred and other great Men at home, also with the trading part of the Nation, and with the Majority of both Houses of Parliament, especially the Commons, who were said to be entirely at his devotion. All which heightened the Queen's Fears and Jealousies to that degree, that she looked upon the Duke with the same Displeasure as if he had been her Rival, and therefore she received him and her other Ministers but coldly and with a kind of Resentment; which they easily perceived, tho they seem'd not to regard it very much, being perhaps but too confident of their own Strength, and too apt to despise those whom they knew to be the Instruments of her Displeasure.

NEVERTHELESS this was a Prelude to their Downfal; for tho the opposite Party had neither the soundest Heads nor the fullest Purfes among them, yet they were grown the most numerous, the most active to promote their Cause, and the most noisy, besides that they had a great Majority of the Clergy; so that nothing was heard but loud Complaints against the Ministry, with a Presumption that they were soon to be discarded, and

They gathered Strength.

Disputes
concerning
the State
of Affairs.

and great Rejoicings were made very insul-
tingly all over the Kingdom, by Bonfires
and ringing of Bells, upon account of Dr.
Sacheverel's mild Sentence, which they in-
terpreted as a certain forerunner of Victory
on their side. This was attended with
warm Disputes every where, concerning the
State of Affairs: for besides that many
were disgusted upon account of the Tola-
tion, the Ministry were no less suspected
with regard to their Friendship for the Al-
lies, which was not a little grievous to the
Pretender's Friends, and others in the *French*
Interest, who always long'd to see this Knot
unloos'd; and therefore those who stood up
for the Ministry, endeavour'd to set off their
Proceedings as the most wise and rational,
and most for the Honour and Safety of the
Nation. They commended their Steadiness
in keeping so close to the Confederates, not
only as this was agreeable to the Grand Al-
liance, but besides that any thing to the con-
trary would be dishonourable to the Queen
and Nation, so it would be imprudent to de-
sert the Allies, when things were brought so
near to an happy Issue, and that all of them
continu'd so unanimous in their Efforts a-
gainst the common Enemy. That a Breach
at such an unseasonable time, might not only
recover the Affairs of the *French* King, espe-
cially that so much of the *Spanish* Monarchy
was still in the possession of his Grandson,
but

but it would render the Allies averse from joining with this Nation in any time to come, lest they should again be deserted, when they had exhausted their Blood and Treasure as in this long War, but would rather comply with the best Terms they could get, than depend any more upon the Friendship of *Britain*, which in process of time might prove an unspeakable detriment to her, who could not subsist long unless a Ballance was preserved, which she alone was not in a condition to maintain without the Concurrence of other Nations; and therefore they approved what was done the preceeding Year at the *Hague*, because the obtaining good Conditions for every one of the Allies, was the likeliest way to procure right Terms for *Great Britain*, as this in effect put the Power wholly in the Queen, and rendered her the chief Arbiter in the Affairs of *Europe*. And as the Protestant Religion was a prime Motive to engage the chief Protestant Powers in this long and expensive War; that therefore the Ministry had suited all their Schemes to its Advancement, and might reap this Advantage from their Steadiness, that they would in all likelihood procure such Stipulations as might secure to the Protestants in the Roman Catholick Countries, the free Exercise of their Religion, in opposition to all future Attempts of their Enemies. And having this in view, they alledged it would have

have been altogether absurd in them, to countenance any Measures that had a Tendency to oppress Protestants of whatever Denomination, and that therefore they did well in maintaining the Toleration; which was also the more reasonable, because those who were of most account among the Dissenters, differed but little in many things from the Established Church, and in all their Maxims and Sentiments were equally opposite to Popery and Arbitrary Power. It was also pleaded in behalf of the Dissenters, that they had all along behaved as Loyal Subjects to the Queen, and had cheerfully contributed their Share in all publick Exigences; and that the better Sort among them had always shewn themselves ready to cultivate every thing that might promote Unity among Protestants, which had been the means to gain them so much Favour with the Government. Further, that the *French* Protestants and other Foreigners who shared in this Indulgence, had been no less dutiful. That the *French* were also very industrious, and therefore that the Ministry looked upon them as deserving the Encouragement that was given them; especially that they were in all respects firmly attached to the publick Interest, against which they could not act without manifest detriment to their own.

THESE and many other things were urged in behalf of the Ministry, while, on the
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the other hand, the Agents of the opposite Party, who were very numerous, proved no less active in running down all their Schemes as detrimental to the Nation. These fell upon many specious Arguments which carry'd a fair outside Appearance, and were such as had been dictated by those who were now got pretty much about the Queen. They alledged the Confederates were insatiable, in refusing to come to Terms with *France*, after such good Offers had been made; and in particular, that the Ministry had not consulted the true Interest of their Country, in acquiescing so far with the Allies, since K. *Lewis* made no scruple in yielding to the specifick Demands of *Great Britain*. That as the *British* Nation had so great Dependance on her Trade, it could not be her Duty or her Interest to oblige the Confederates to her own Ruin, by continuing the Expence of a Land-War. That *England* was able to stand on her own Bottom, and needed not fear what foreign Nations could do to her; but that she would become a Prey and a Bubble to all the World, if her whole Substance should be run out to aggrandize other Nations, and enrich the Ministry. They ascribed the Miscarriages in all the late Negotiations to their Stiffness, and gave it as the Reason why the *French* King went back from his first Offers, in hopes to exhaust the Substance of

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the Nation, to tire People's patience, and by that means to bring *England* to his own Terms. They also found great fault with their Conduct in managing the War, and opposed many idle and impracticable Dreams of their own to the wise Measures of the Confederates; and as they fell in altogether with the Stream against the Toleration, and other Acts of Clemency towards the *French* Protestants who had taken sanctuary in the Kingdom, and as this happen'd to displease the generality of the common People in their present Circumstances; who envy'd the *French*, because they had by their Industry and Parsimony thrive very much; so there fell out some other Matters, which were improved to increase the publick Discontents. The Ministry had but lately given encouragement for the coming of some Foreigners into the Kingdom from the *Palatinate*, who had suffered both on account of their Religion, and by the Depredations of the *French* Armies; and therefore made their humble Supplication to the Queen, that they might be permitted to transplant themselves hither, which she by her Ministers Advice consented to. Whereupon 3 or 4000 *Palatines* came over in great distress; but being bred in a Country where the People are but little acquainted with Trade, by that means many of them were fit for nothing but Husbandry and Day-Labour, and

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at this Time of the day there was no want of such Persons, there being scarce sufficient Business to employ the Inhabitants. Also there happen'd to be a great many Roman Catholicks among them, who came along with the rest, in hopes to find a better livelyhood here than in their own Country ; besides, many Women and Children, which made them still the more burdensome, so that the Government was forced for the present to encamp them upon *Black Heath* near *London*, and to allow them a daily subsistence until they could be otherwise disposed of. This falling out at such an unseasonable time, created great Heart-burnings among the common People, who did by no means like to see Strangers come among them in that poor despicable manner, when themselves lay under such Discouragements, and being continually stirr'd up by bad Instruments, could not be kept within the rules of common Decency ; but openly arraign'd the Ministry as persons who studied every way to ruin, and oppress their Country. But nothing was so much improved to the detriment of the Ministry, as the Duke of *Marlborough's* great Power and Interest, both at home and abroad : which they pretended to be more dangerous to the Nation than any efforts could be made by the common Enemy ; because, said they, if a Period was once

The Ministry arraign'd by the Populace.

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put to the War according to his own Terms; there could be nothing to hinder the Duke from setting himself up as Perpetual Dictator, and might alter the Constitution, both in Church and State, as he should think fit: Especially that the Queen was without Issue, a Widow, and of an infirm Constitution, and could do nothing to oppose him, he having also the Army at his devotion. As this first of all had alarm'd the Queen, so the same Jealousy soon spread over the whole Kingdom: which rais'd such a torrent against the Ministry, that it became easy for the Queen to effect what she had so much wish'd for, *viz.* to abridge their Power, which she began to put in execution so soon as the Parliament was prorogu'd.

The
French
King takes
advantage
from the
Divisions
in this
Kingdom.

THE Conferences at *Gertruydenbergh*, which we have already had occasion to mention, were continued this Year from the beginning of *March* to the Month of *July*; and tho they were very earnestly solicited by the *French King* in *January*, and would in all probability, have ended in an advantageous Peace to this Nation, and to all the Allies, had things continued on the same footing in *England*; yet now that all was in confusion, that Monarch did nothing but start new difficulties, in hopes to reap some advantage from the Troubles of this Nation: which

which were not a little increased by his standing out. The *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries were impower'd by the other Allies, to hear what the *French* would propose, in order to a general Treaty, before any of them should have the trouble to send their Ministers thither. But tho it was agreed to, that the *French* King's Grandson might have part of the Dominions in *Italy*, which belong'd to *Spain*, particularly *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, whereby a Partition was to have been made of that Monarchy; yet they could bring him to no certain Resolution, as to his Grandson's leaving *Spain*: he had promised to withdraw his Forces out of that Kingdom, and that he would forbid his Subjects to lift in his Service, but would not consent to join with the Allies in any proper Measures, that might oblige him to abandon the said Kingdom. And when the matter was pressed home more peremptorily by the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries; he, lest he should disgust his own Subjects, who were ready to rise in Tumults in several places, because of the War, would not break off the Treaty, but promised to assist the Confederates with Money, tho he could not be brought to give security how that Money should be paid; nor would he propose any right Security, whereby the Allies might enter upon any formal Treaty with him. And when after-

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wards the Negotiations were broke off, he published circular Letters all over his Dominions, wherein several Expressions were made use of, to quiet the Minds of his own Subjects on the one hand, and on the other to foment the Differences that were begun in *Great Britain*, by protesting his own Sincerity in his Desires of Peace, and ascribing all the Miscarriages thereof to the unreasonable Demands of the Allies, being such as were entirely out of his power to perform: which being translated into our *English News-Papers*, were not without the Effect which the *French King* intended by them, as they increas'd People's Murmurs and Discontents, which were greatly set forward by the *French Agents* in this Kingdom, and by all who wished the Downfal of the Duke of *Marlborough* and the Ministry.

The Earl
of Whar-
ton sent
over to
Ireland.

THESE things contributed to make way for the Changes that soon happened; for when the Parliament was prorogu'd after the breaking up of the said Conferences, and that most of the Members were gone to their Seats in the Country, and when the Duke of *Marlborough* was also gone over to the Army, the Queen by the Advice of Mr. *Harley*, and some others of his Party, sent the Earl of *Wharton* over into *Ireland* as her Lieutenant, for they were afraid to attempt any Change, until that great Man was out of the way, he being a Person of whom

whom they stood greatly in awe. As for the Duke of *Marlborough*, he proved no less successful than at other times, for this Summer he took from the *French*, *Aire*, *Doway* and *Fort Scharpe*, after having surmounted many Difficulties; and in *Spain* Affairs took also a very favourable Turn, by reason of several important Victories gain'd by the Confederates there, insomuch that Count *Staremburg* would have gone to *Madrid*, had he not been hindered by the Dilatoriness of the *Portuguese*, who stay'd to get in their Harvest. But in *England* all things were in great disorder. Addresses were sent from divers parts of the Kingdom, wherein the Ministry and Parliament were insulted, notwithstanding none of the Ministers were yet out of Place, nor the Parliament dissolved. These were however at first suppressed, and enquiry being made after the Promoters of them, some of them were found to be Nonjurors, who upon this Enquiry went from their Houses, until the Queen began to make some Changes, after which they were published in all the Newspapers, and others of the same kind were sent to the Queen, wherein the Addressers stiled themselves the only true and genuine Sons of their Holy Mother the Church of *England*, with abundance of such sounding Appellations, that they might the more effectually heighten the Jealousy the People

had entertained in their Minds, concerning the Danger of the Church; and one of these was indeed conceived in such Words as if all had been at stake, assuring the Queen that they would defend her Royal Title and Prerogative, and her Hereditary and Indefeasible Right, in opposition to all the late Attempts made against her sacred Person and Government; and the Church of *England* as by Law established, in opposition to Phanatics and all Persons of antimonarchical, heretical or atheistical Principles. After this manner were several of these new Addresses pen'd; which altho they look'd more like Banter than any thing else, and seem'd to strike at the Protestant Succession, yet most of them being graciously received by the Queen, it set the whole Nation into the greatest surprize, as this was indeed giving the Royal Attestation to all the Scandal and Lyes that were cast upon the Ministry and their whole Proceedings. The Pulpit was also strangely abused with Discourses, that made for nothing but Strife and Contention, such being now become the most popular and the best received.

THE Queen was all this while changing her Ministers, having begun with Earl *Sunderland*, one of her principal Secretaries of State, who was succeeded by the Lord *Dartmouth*. This piece of News was soon inserted in the *Paris Gazette*, with Notice that the said Earl

Earl was Son-in-Law to the Duke of *Marlborough*. Their other News-Papers were also filled with all the domestick Feuds and the ridiculous Behaviour of the Parties in *Great Britain*, which were told with an Air of Triumph, and helped very much to raise the drooping Spirits of the *French*. About the same time Mr. *Boyle* the other Secretary resigned, and was succeeded by Mr. *St. John*. The Treasury was put into Commission, and Mr. *Harley* made Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Lord *Cowper* also resign'd, ^{Changes in the Ministry.} and was succeeded by Sir *Simon Harcourt*, Dr. *Sacheverel*'s chief Agent, who was first made Keeper of the great Seal, and afterwards Lord Chancellor. The Dukes of *Buckinghamshire* and *Shrewsbury*, and some others had also great Employments conferr'd upon them. For most of the great Men who had been in Power resign'd, when *Sunderland* and the Lord Treasurer *Godolphin* were dismiss'd, in hopes those who were coming into their Places, would not be able to hold it long, being most of them Persons who had been but a short while in Employments of the State, and therefore but little acquainted with the vast Burden of the present Affairs, which by the Continuance of the War was very much increas'd; besides that this new Party had but few Friends among the money'd Men, so that it was generally believed they could not be able to support the publick Credit,

Credit, which began to sink very much already upon these Alterations.

HOWEVER the new Ministry continued to pursue all such Measures as might best secure themselves, both in the Queen's Favour and with the People, being sensible they could not be rightly established without a Parliament of their own Kidney, who should fall in with them in all their Schemes. Therefore the Queen, who was now wholly at their devotion, after several Prorogations, dissolved the Parliament then in being, and called another to meet at the usual Time.

*A new
Parlia-
ment cal-
led.*

THE latter Part of the Year was spent in the new Elections, which were very tumultuous; for most of the common People had taken such an Aversion to the late Ministry from the Clamours had been raised against them, that they were ready to knock down every one who offer'd to appear on their side; so that many who came to the places of Election were deter'd from giving their Votes. Several Stratagems were also set on foot to keep up this Spirit in the People, and every Accident was improved or had a Tendency to the same End. Dr. *Sacheverel* being presented to a new Living in *Wales* after his Trial, by a Bigot of his Party, took a Progress down into that Country thro *Oxford*, where his old Companions, who us'd formerly to be in no good Terms

Terms with him, receiv'd him now with great Ceremony, and with many stiff Cringes and Complements. From thence he passed through *Worcester* and some other great Towns, where he was received with ringing of Bells and loud Acclamations, the Houses being stuck out with green Boughs or hung with Carpets for the Reception of this great Apostle. He was also met upon the Road in most Places, by Sheriffs of Counties and Justices of the Peace, having several Invitations to their Houses, tho by some he was insulted as a vain Impostor. This Cavalcade made a great noise, the Journals of each Day's Progress being printed in all the News-Papers, and by that means soon spread through the whole Kingdom. Tho it was generally believed that he went in this publick Manner, more out of Vanity and a Desire of Applause, than from any other View; for he was even by the wiser Sort of his own Friends, looked upon as a weak vain Man; yet it is impossible to imagine how much this inflam'd People's Minds, which were before heated and intoxicated, so as to influence them in their Votes; who became the more obstinate in the Cause, the more the Doctor was exposed and ridicul'd for his Folly. And the Heads of that Party having also got the Power into their hands, influenced many of the Electors by fair Promises

mises and other Artifices, so that they carried their Point without much difficulty.

1711. ON the second of *January* following this new Parliament met, and chose Mr. *Bromley* for their Speaker, and great

The Meeting of the Parliament.

were all Mens Expectations, to know what Measures they would follow ; whether they would immediately address the Queen to enter upon Negotiations of Peace, or to continue the War ; for in case of the latter, it was doubted whether their Credit would be sufficient for it : The Nobility and Gentlemen of best account in the Kingdom, the most considerable Citizens of *London*, and the richest Inhabitants of the other trading Towns, adhering stedfast to the late Ministry, and shewing the greatest unwillingness imaginable to trust those new Stewards with their Money. And the Courtiers were so sensible of their own Weakness in this respect, that they had encouraged all Reports that favour'd of Peace ; their Dependants had also given out many false and scandalous Surmises, both in their Conversation and in printed Pamphlets, that the Nation was not in a Capacity to carry on the War any longer. This was the Reason of Peoples Doubts in this grand Concern, which afforded but a melancholy Prospect to those who had intrusted their Money in the Publick, because they could hope for no good Terms, when those who should be

be the Managers of the Peace, had by their own Agents run down the Circumstances of the Nation, because their own Credit was not sufficient to carry on the War so as to obtain such safe and honourable Conditions as might be expected, and likewise because they knew the Continuance of the War to be contrary to their Design of strengthening their Party with Papists and Nonjurors, who had no other Prospect but from *France*, and were therefore averse to every thing that might further weaken the Power of that Nation.

THESE Things brought the Ministry into a very great Dilemma upon their first setting out, and it required a no small Share of Conduct to extricate themselves out of it, considering they had a powerful Party to deal with, who might not only bring them to a severe Account, if things should be carried too far on the side of *France* by their Mismanagement, but might even overturn their Power before they had fully secured themselves, if they should make their Designs plainly known to the Publick. And therefore the Duke of *Marlborough* was still continued in his Command of the Army, tho his other Places were taken from him, and tho the Dutchess was also removed from hers. Thus far they judged they might proceed, seeing the Duke had made sufficient Acquisitions to support his Dignity; so that

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*The Con-
dult of the
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they would neither wholly disoblige his Friends, as the Queen kept him still in his Command, nor disoblige his Enemies, as they lessened his Power, which the latter would look upon as a Prelude to his Fall.

BUT as the Clergy were full of Expectations upon this Change, so the Ministry were no sooner fixed and the Members of the House of Commons chosen, than they made it their business to oblige them; and therefore those Clergymen who fell in with the present Measures were caressed at Court, especially the most active leading Men among them; and the rest who were their Dependants swarm'd about *Westminster-Hall*, and the Court of Requests, in hopes of Preferment or of better Benefices. Neither would it indeed have been prudent in the Ministry, to have fallen short on their part, because the Clergy, as they had been very instrumental in this great Change, so they might have soon caused great Uneasiness, had the Ministry disappointed them, or turned remiss in their Promises to them; and therefore they advised the Queen in the first place to give her Royal Licence for the Convocation to sit to do Business during the present Session of Parliament, which was done in very ample manner. And this was the more acceptable to the Clergy, because in the time of the late Ministry, and in the preceding Reign, they were often prorogu'd,
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almost as soon as they met, which was owing to a leading Majority in the lower House who opposed the Bishops, and this was the Cause of their Prorogation, that no unseasonable Disputes, might arise among the Clergy, while the Nation was at war with so potent an Enemy, which required the greatest Unanimity among all Sorts of People. But tho the late Ministry acted very prudently in silencing all unseasonable Disputes by this wise Precaution, and many of the wiser sort both among the Bishops and inferior Clergy were satisfy'd that this was not done from any bad Intention towards the Church, but to bring some restless Men of their own Order, to a better Temper, or to lay their Enterprizes at rest; yet as the Generality of the Clergy highly resented this proceeding, so they became the more firmly attached to the new Ministry, as their Patrons, who had asserted their just Rights, which they said the others invaded; so that they resolved to concur in all things with the Parliament. This was indeed a very great Point the Ministry gain'd upon their first Entrance on the Government, but the next step they took was still of much greater Consequence to them.

THE Buildings in the Suburbs of *London*, being very much encreased by reason of the continual resort that was from all parts of the Kingdom, and from foreign

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Nations to it, and there being but few Parish-Churches in those parts, many of the Inhabitants could have no place in them. This had been often complain'd of, by many of those call'd Low-Church Men, as well as by the High-Church; but the Nation being unavoidably plung'd into so great debt, over and above the yearly expence of the War, therefore little or no publick Encouragement could be allowed for the building of Churches, and settling Revenues for the maintenance of Ministers: but to supply this want as much as possible for the present, several Bishops, abundance of Noblemen and Gentlemen, with other Inhabitants, who lived in those Out-parts of *London*, contributed Sums of Money to build Chapels of Ease, and maintain'd Ministers at their own proper Charge; which however was not sufficient, as the Number of People was continually increasing. The Duty on the *Newcastle* Coal had been for many years apply'd partly to the building of *St. Paul's* Cathedral, and partly to the service of the War, and other publick Exigences; so that nothing could be spared hitherto from thence, towards any Undertaking of this kind: but it happen'd that the Works of *St. Paul's* were now almost finished, and the Court being determin'd to make Peace at any rate; had therefore a design of appropriating that part of the Coal-

HISTORY of *Queen* ANNE.

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Coal-Revenue that went to the building of *St. Paul's* for the building of new Churches. This had indeed been a very commendable Design, had those who were at the Helm promoted it, purely from a Zeal to Religion, and even as it was, all good Men fell in with the Proposal; especially, so far as it might not any ways come in competition with the Efforts, that were then absolutely necessary for securing the Religion and Property of the Subjects; for these judged that all Acts and Intentions; however much pretended for the good of Religion, might nevertheless prove fruitless, unless due care should be taken to preserve the Interests of the Nation from being hurt by the Insults and Machinations, as well of foreign, as domestick Enemies. And therefore some only disslik'd the Motion, so far as it savour'd too much of a design in the Ministry, to make a hasty and precipitant Peace with *France*, and to ingratiate themselves with the Clergy, and with those who pretended to be the most devoted to the establish'd Church: for besides the unsettled State of the Publick Affairs, the time of these Revenues was not yet expired, nor could for some years be apply'd to the building of Churches, or to any other uses than those to which they had been appropriated by former Acts of Parliament.

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BUT

*A Bill for
building
fifty new
Churches.*

BUT this was a matter of such great Consequence to the Ministry, that they made it one of their first Concerns; for soon after the Parliament met, an Order was sent to the House of Commons, directing them to inquire what Churches were wanting, in, and about *London* and *Westminster*. Upon which a Bill was brought in for building 50 new Churches in those Suburbs, and for provision for Ministers to the said Churches; whereupon Addresses were sent from all places, extolling the Queen's Piety, and the Zeal of her Parliament in their great Concern for the Church, and some of the Clergy represented the want of Churches as a very great Cause of Schism; (which was a word very much in their mouths at that time,) and gave it as a Reason why there were so many Dissenters from the Establish'd Church; tho' when this Affair came into the House of Lords, and the same Argument was made use of by a Reverend Prelate of that Party, some of the Bishops could not themselves help taking notice of the Partiality of such Reasons, observing with great Honesty that this could not be the Cause of so many Dissenters, it being very well known, that in those places where the Churches were most wanting, there was also the fewest Meeting-Houses. But whatever Views some men might have in this matter, yet as it was

was in it self a good and necessary Work, it therefore met with no Opposition, for an Act passed in both Houses for building the said 50 Churches according to the Tenour of the Bill, which had this immediate Effect, That as the Ministry, and Parliament were on the one hand highly extoll'd, so on the other, their Predecessors were as much run down, as being negligent of the Church; tho' there was no Circumstance all the time they were in Power, that could enable them to undertake such a work, no more than it was possible for the New Ministry to go through with it, until the War was brought to a Period, and the building of *St. Paul's* finish'd.

THE Ministry and Parliament having thus establish'd themselves very much in the good Graces of their Party, by shewing so favourable a disposition towards the Church and Clergy; they made it their next business to shew their Zeal for the Interests of their Country in its other Concerns; which was the more necessary on their part, that their Agents had traduced those who had been so lately in Power, as much on account of their Deficiency in Civil Matters, as upon the score of Religion, and therefore it behoved them to raise a great Noise about Mismanagements, and Corruptions, to impose on the Queen's Credulity, and on those who were weak enough,

*A great
noise about
Misma-
nagements
and Cor-
ruptions.*

enough, or whose Interest it was to fall in with all their Calumnies.

SEVERAL Mismanagements indeed there were, and Corruptions too; but these happen'd chiefly among inferiour Officers: for when the Ministry were engag'd in such a multiplicity of Affairs, and such as were of the greatest Consequence; it was impossible but some would take the liberty to do unwarrantable things. Every day produc'd fresh Events, that could not be neglected a Moment, wherefore those in Power had not Time, or Opportunity, to examine into all the Miscarriages that might happen in the several Branches of the Revenue. The Parliament had also so much business every Session, that they were forc'd oftentimes to sit a great part of the Summer, and when any Discoveries were made of Frauds, the Persons concern'd in them, were generally turn'd out, and prosecuted: so that there was little reason to find fault upon any such account. But it was impossible for the New Ministry to keep up their Reputation, without some publick Scrutiny, after so great a Noise had been made about Corruptions and Abuses. This Scrutiny was also judg'd necessary upon account of the Publick Credit, thinking thereby to gain over some of the Money'd Men, by shewing how precarious their Fortunes and Estates in the Publick were,

were, under the Conduct and Management of Men, whom they had given out with the greatest assurance to be of loose and dissolute Principles; and had studied nothing, but their own private Interest. And Mr. Harley, the chief Instrument in all this, was in hopes they would make some notable Discoveries, being led into it by some busy Sycophants, who were officious to get into his Favour, by pretending many Abuses; which they could not prove, as appeared afterwards; and likewise by his own want of Acquaintance with the manner of applying the Revenue, and how it should be accounted for, which made him, and those he consulted with, imagine all things had been mismanaged, if not confounded. The Ministry recommended this Affair to the House of Commons, and the House, after a general Enquiry into the State of the Nation, having appointed Commissioners as usual to state and examine the Publick Accounts, gave them very positive Instructions to inquire into the manner of raising the Money, and to what Purposes it had been employ'd during the Course of the War.

An Enquiry into the State of the Revenue.

AT the same time a Bill was brought in to resume King *William's* Grants, which had been matter of Strife and Contention in some preceding Parliaments; and was now reviv'd for no other end, as it seems, but to tickle the *Papists* and *Non-*

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jurors,

jurors, who were equally Enemies to King William, and to the Persons on whom he had conferr'd his Favours. Besides, that some of these Grants were already expired, and others were only to continue during the Lives of the Persons who enjoy'd them; so that the recalling of them would have been no great gain to the Publick. And therefore when the Bill was brought up to the House of Lords for their Concurrence; it was rejected by a great Majority, and most of the Peers look'd upon it as the greatest Affront could be put upon the Memory of that glorious King, as well as the highest Disregard to that happy Deliverance, whereof he had been so signal an Instrument, so that the House of Commons gain'd no great Credit by this proceeding: tho' it was agreeable to disaffected Persons, and to the Mobbish part of the Nation, who always look upon such Favours, conferr'd upon great Men, with an invidious Eye.

BUT the Commissioners of Accounts made a great noise with their proceedings, having discovered some Frauds in victualling and supplying the Navy with Naval Stores. Some Frauds were also discovered in the Custom-House, wherein two Members of Parliament were concerned, whom they expelled the House. Likewise some Abuses in Chelsea Hospital, Advertisements were also

Commissioners of Accounts, their Proceedings.

also put into the Gazette, and other News-Papers, promising to discover Frauds in almost all the Branches of the Revenue, which was thought to be done by ill-designing Men, only to stir up Peoples Hatred and Indignation with the more Violence, against those who had the Management of Affairs during the War, for scarce any thing came to light by means of these Advertisements. However the Commissioners laid before the House all such plain Abuses as they could discover, and further represented that the publick Accounts had not passed their several Offices for the space of five Years or upwards, whereby they alledged several Millions of Money were unaccounted for: That the Collectors of the Land-Tax had been negligent, in not returning the publick Money into the Exchequer: That the Officers of the Treasury had also been wanting in their Duty, in not calling those Persons to account. And moreover that several great Sums of Money had been raised without the Consent of Parliament, and likewise that several Sums had been applied to other Uses, than had been ordain'd by Parliament.

THIS Report was drawn up and presented in so short a time, that it was impossible for the Commissioners to make any just Enquiry into such Affairs, whereby they very much discovered their Rashness, if not their Ma-

lice. For several of those who were concerned in the Revenue during the late Administration, being Men of good Interest, who still kept their Seats in Parliament, took this matter fully to task, answering to the several particulars thereof. And first as to the many Millions said to be unaccounted for, they took notice that all the Accounts were ready in their several Offices, and it was owing chiefly to the vast Burden of Affairs, that lay upon the Ministry and Parliament, that they had not been called for, so that it could not be said with any reason, that so many Millions were unaccounted for, since the passing them was only matter of form, and was all that remain'd to be done. As for the Negligence of Collectors, it was answered, there were but few Instances of that kind to be met with, and that it was impossible but some such Neglects would happen, where the Revenues were so much increas'd, as they had been during the War, and that they could make it appear all reasonable Endeavours had been used, to bring them to account. As for the other matters mentioned in this Report, they took notice, That in regard of the Uncertainty of the yearly Expence of the War, and by reason of several unforeseen Accidents, divers Sums had been rais'd upon the Credit of the Ministry, which the next Session of Parliament generally made good, which could

could not be avoided without a manifest Hazard to the common Cause, and rendering the War in many respects ineffectual, That it also became necessary sometimes, to apply several Sums of Money for carrying on different Services, from those for which the said Sums had been appointed by Parliament, as in defect of the Men who were designed for the Service of *Spain*, the overplus Money was converted to other uses of the War. But tho the State of the War had rendered these things unavoidable, and tho all these Sums were placed in proper Accounts plainly to be seen, yet the House of Commons voted, " The alienating any " Sum or Sums of Money to any other " use, besides that expressed in the Acts of " Parliament, by which such Sums were " granted, to be a Misapplication of the " publick Money." " And that the raising any Sums without the Consent of " Parliament was a great cause of the national Debts."

UPON this a Representation of the State of the Nation was drawn up in the Name of the whole House, and presented to the Queen, whertin mention was made in general of many Abuses committed by the Consent of the late Ministry, with no other view but to give Confirmation to all the scandalous Reports that had been raised against them, being suited exactly to the present

A strange Representation of the House of Commons.

sent Delusion: as appears manifest from some very remarkable Assertions, with which they concluded this Representation, viz.: "That the Queen, had from the beginning of her Reign, expressed a truly Christian Moderation, by Promises of Lenity and Protection to all her peaceable Subjects: and her Countenance and Favour, to those who should most recommend themselves by their Zeal for the established Government in Church and State. But that those Ministers, had framed to themselves wild and unravellable Schemes of ballancing Parties, and under a false Pretence of Temperance and Moderation had really encouraged Faction, by discountenancing and depressing Persons zealously affected to her Majesty, and the Church, and by extending their Favour and Patronage to Men of dissolute and impious Principles, such as shake the very Foundation of all Government. And therefore her Loyal Commons, out of their Zeal and Affection to her Majesty, and for the publick Good, beseeched she would avoid, as the greatest Enemies to her Royal Dignity, and the People's Safety, all Persons who should engage her in such pernicious Measures; and employ only in Offices of Trust those who had given good Testimony of their

“ their Duty to her Majesty, and their Affection to the true Interest of the Kingdom.”

AT the same time, the lower House of Convocation appointed a Committee, who with the Concurrence of some of the Bishops should draw up, a Representation of the State of Religion, to be also presented to the Queen. For the leading Men among the Clergy, especially those who sought after Honour and Preferment, were zealous to go hand in hand with the new Ministry, and to strengthen the House of Commons in all their hot Proceedings. Among others, Dr. Atterbury had a deep share in this Business, and led most of the Clergy by his pretended Zeal for their Interests. This Representation was very long, and contain'd a great deal concerning the Atheism and Irreligion of the Times, which they ascrib'd chiefly to the late Growth of Heresy and Schism, and by the printing of wicked and atheistical Books, which tended to promote many dangerous Opinions, the Fault being laid chiefly on those who had been lately in Power. But this Representation of the Clergy was never presented. For several Members of the same House, and even some who were of the Committee found great fault with it, while it was under Deliberation; and when it was brought up to the Bishops for their Concurrence,

A Representation of the Lower House of Convocation.

*The Bishops
find fault
with it.*

rence, none of them objected against such a Representation, had it been done purely with an honest Zeal, that Judges and Magistrates might have the Royal Injunction to put a stop to Irreligion and Profaneness, so far as came within their Cognizance; but they observed there was too much of design to be seen in this Representation, and some of the Bishops complain'd both of the Matter and Manner of it. The Style being too florid for a Subject of such serious Consideration. And as to the Matter, they took notice, that it contain'd several things which came only within the Cognizance of the Civil Power, and that there were also several Expressions of too much Zeal and Warmth, which seem'd to be apply'd to the late Ministry, whereunto they could not agree, seeing it did by no means become Ministers of the Gospel, while they complain'd of Vice and Immorality, to apply any thing directly or indirectly to particular Persons, before there was some Proof brought against them, as that must be the means, only to inflame those Jealousies which were already too much riveted in the Minds of the common People, and which in the end might be found to be ill-grounded. The Bishops also took notice, that the lower House had omitted to mention the Protestant Succession in the House of *Hanover*, which they judged a necessary Duty in all their publick Addresses.

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ses and Representations to the Queen. And therefore the Bishops reduced it to a much shorter Compass, and return'd it to the lower House. But those who bore the chief Sway among the Inferiour Clergy, were very refractory upon this occasion, as they had been at other times in opposing the Bishops. For these drew up a new Representation, but altogether upon their first Model, wherein they indeed supplied their own Defect in mentioning the Protestant Succession in this, which they had omitted in the other, and changed some Words and Phrases for others that were more decent; but they could not abate any thing of their Zeal against the late Ministry, and therefore the Bishops refused to join with them, so that the Convocation broke up without doing any Business.

BUT tho the Ministry were not a little disappointed by the Opposition the Bishops made to this Representation, yet their Friends in the House of Commons carried a very great Sway, and the Lords notwithstanding they acted with more Temper, yet the Majority in that House seem'd also to favour the new Measures; nor was this much to be wondered at, considering the indefatigable pains many were at, to hand about Lyes and Calumnies; and with what Confidence and Assurance they were asserted as Truths. The Lords had taken the Affairs
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The House
of Lords
examine
into the
Miscarria-
ges in
Spain.

of *Spain* into their Consideration, which had been in a bad way for two Years or upwards, after the Battle of *Almanza*; and were not yet fully recovered, notwithstanding the great Expence the Nation had been at in that part of the Service: and therefore they called in the Generals who had commanded in *Spain*, to enquire into their Conduct, where a Rivalship was made between two Men, who both merited very well of the Nation, viz. the Earl of *Peterborough*, and the Earl of *Gallway*. The first was very successful and behaved with great Bravery in the taking of *Barcelona*, and in some other Enterprizes; whereas the other being defeated at *Almanza*, this, according to the common way of judging, caused his Conduct to be very much suspected; and the more so, that the Lord *Peterborough* had given it as his Opinion when in *Spain*, that it would be most for the good of the common Cause, to carry on a defensive War there. Whereas *Gallway*, the Lord *Tyrawly* and General *Stanhope*, agreed in their Sentiments with the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the rest of the late Ministry, who looked upon the Conquest of *Spain* to be easy, because most of the Fortresses in it were but weak, and the *Spaniards* inclinable to fall in with the conquering side, and that a defensive War would entail a growing Expence upon the Nation. And therefore in the Year 1706, when

when *Philip* was driven quite out of *Spain*, and that Kingdom almost conquered, orders were given to the Lord *Gallway* and the other Generals, to improve these Advantages, by making as speedy a Conquest as possible of that whole Kingdom, that the Seat of the War might be confin'd wholly to the *Netherlands*, where the greatest and most powerful Efforts were required, which they judg'd the likeliest means to bring the War to a speedy Period. In all which the Lord *Gallway* acted in concert with the then Ministry, and according to his Orders. And tho the Loss at *Almanza* was in a great measure owing to the Disappointments he met with, by the not coming of the *Portuguese* in time, and by the Dillatoriness of the Forces which were at *Barcelona* with King *Charles*, whereby he was expos'd to fight at a great disadvantage; nevertheless no Allowance could be made for him. The Lords who sided with the Court in this Affair, made it a handle to strike at the Duke of *Marlborough* and the rest of that Ministry, and being back'd by many who had not considered the Affair very much, they procur'd the Thanks of the House to be given to the Earl of *Peterborough*, without allowing the other Generals a full hearing. However, several Lords protest'd against this proceeding, not only because they perceiv'd it to be levelled at the late Ministry, but as they also look'd
upon

upon it to bear very hard on the Honour of the other Generals, who had all signalized themselves for the Nation, especially the Earl of *Galloway*, who had not only received several Wounds at that fatal Battle, but had lost his right Arm at the Siege of *Badajos*, and had behaved with great Fidelity and Integrity in every Station.

BUT all this while the Ministry were at a great loss how to support the publick Credit, and to raise the necessary Supplies; for while they thus succeeded so far in both Houses, as to gratify their own Party, they were still losing ground in the Estimation of such Persons, whose Estates lay chiefly in the publick Funds, some of whom had drawn out their Money, and others being in great doubt whether they should run any further Risque, unless the new Ministry were resolved to prosecute the War until a safe Peace could be obtain'd. And therefore the Ministry were forced to fall upon several weak Artifices to keep up the publick Credit, and among others, that Mr. *Harley* was preparing a great Project, that would pay the Debts of the Nation, which filled all Men with Expectations, for his Friends had given him out as a very profound Man in Business.

*Artifices to
support the
publick
Credit.*

IN the mean while a Fund of seven Millions Sterling was voted for the Service of the Year, and the Commons were obliged to

to lay Duties on Leather, Soap, Candles, and other Necessaries; which hitherto had been spared, being such things as fall the most heavy upon the Poor. This was to be raised, as the other Funds had been before, by way of Lottery; and that the money'd Men might be encouraged to subscribe, the Duke of *Marlborough* was desir'd to make what haste he could to the Army, and all the necessary Preparations were made with the usual Dispatch, tho the wiser sort foresaw plainly that the War would not be continued, and there were many just reasons to apprehend an unreasonable stop would be put to it; for besides the sinking of the national Credit, which must disable the Ministry from carrying on the War, it was observed that the *French*, who for several Years before had been solliciting all the Allies for Peace, by the Ministers of neutral Princes, were now grown very quiet. They had also by raising many new Recruits, brought a more numerous Army into the Field than they had done since the War began, and to maintain this great Armament had raised a Tax on all Ranks, from the highest to the lowest, upon a positive Assurance, that the War would speedily be brought to a Conclusion. The Command was again committed to *Villars*, who fortify'd himself so as to prevent the Allies from making any further Progress in the *French* Territories, having
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covered his whole Front with the *Scharpe*, and having *Arras* on the Centre, besides all that Art could do further to render it impracticable for the Confederates to attack his Army.

THESE Things gave ground to believe the *French* were in great hopes, and expectations of a happy Turn in their Affairs; having taken encouragement from the great Changes in *England*, and this being in a manner the last Push, had therefore made themselves so secure within their Lines, that the Duke of *Marlborough* could scarce do any thing to annoy them for a great part of the Summer, which gave dissatisfied Persons a fresh opportunity to asperse the Duke, as if he design'd no Affairs should succeed under this new Administration: so that the Duke and *Dutchels* were compared to *Antony* and *Fulvia*, insinuating from thence, as if the Duke had a mind to let his Laurels wither, and to sacrifice the Publick to his own private Humour or Interest, tho he made the contrary appear before the Campaign was ended, as will be shewn anon.

The South-
Sea Project.

IN the mean while, the great Project for paying the Publick Debts, which had been much talk'd of, ever since *Harley* came into Power, was communicated to the House of Commons: whereby was proposed to give Parliamentary Security, for all such Sums, as were due for supplying the Navy

Navy with Stores and Provisions, for which no Publick Security had as yet been given, and to erect these Bills into a Capital Stock, for carrying on a Trade to the *South Seas*. This indeed somewhat advanced the value of the Victualling and Navy Bills: but was of no signification to raise the Publick Credit, because the success of such a Trade depended on the good State of Affairs: particularly on obtaining good Terms of Peace, from *France* and *Spain*, whereof there was at this time no great likelihood, as things were managed; so that it was generally contemned by the Money'd Men. As for the Project itself, the first rise of it, was from a Scheme given in to *Harley* some Years before, by Dr. *Paul Chamberlayne*, its first rise. a Man well known, for his skill in Man-Midwifery, and who it seems had made a voyage to the *West-Indies* in his younger Days. His Proposal was, that a Conquest should be made of some part of *South America*, and Colonies settled there, as in *Jamaica*, and the other *English* Plantations, which Mr. *Harley* at that time seem'd to neglect as an idle Dream. But, perhaps he might take some Hints from it, for when he was out of all Employment, he was observ'd often to find fault with the Management of the War, and it was the usual Topick of his

The Sentiments of the Ministry concerning the War. Friends when they talk'd of the Publick Affairs, that the only way to bring the War to a right Issue, and to weaken the Power of *France* and *Spain*, would be by sending a strong Armament to make Conquests in the *Spanish West-Indies*; that being the main Source from whence the *French* King drew his Supplies. Some Overtures of this kind were also made to the then Ministry by other hands, but they looked upon all such Projects to be both expensive and impracticable; and such as might expose the common Cause to the greatest Hazards; and therefore they always continued firmly in this Resolution, that there was no other way so feasible to reduce the Power of *France*, as by taking their strongest Towns in the *Netherlands*, which guarded their Frontiers.

BUT Mr. *Harley*, and the other Leading Men of that Party, were so full of themselves, that notwithstanding the many Reasons had been given against such hazardous Expeditions, while the Nation was unavoidably engag'd in a Land War; yet they would venture to undertake something of this kind, now that the Power was in their own hands. So much had been said against Expeditions to the *Spanish West-Indies*, that they would not pretend to send any Armament thither: but fitted out a strong Squadron of Ships of War, with a good number

number of Transports, having several Regiments on board, to annoy the *French* Plantations in *North America*, especially to take possession of some of their Forts in *Canada*; where the *French* carry on a very great Fishing Trade. And they were in hopes, by this Means, not only to raise the Credit of their new erected Company; but if they should succeed, that it would enable them to treat with *France* upon their own bottom, so as to obtain good Terms, which they were sensible was their Interest; and indeed it was only thro' their Weakness and Insufficiency, and the wrong Foundation upon which they establish'd their Power, that they were led into all their Miscarriages. As for this Expedition, it was strangely undertaken, and as strangely manag'd; for tho' the House of Commons had, this same Session, resolv'd in opposition to the late Ministry, "That to enlarge the Service, or increase the Charge beyond the Bounds prescrib'd by Act of Parliament, was illegal, and an Invasion of the Rights of that House." Yet this Expedition, tho' a very expensive one, was undertaken without making an Estimate of the Charge, notwithstanding the Parliament was then sitting. And that all things might be carried on with the greater Secrecy, the Fleet was victualled much short of what was necessarily for such an Enterprize, with a design

An Expedition to Canada.

that they should take in fresh Supplies at *New-England*, and that no Umbrage might be given to *France*, they forbore giving Directions beforehand to the Governour of *New-England*, or to any of the neighbouring Provinces; which caused so much Delay, that when the Squadron arriv'd towards *Canada*, it was so late in the Year, that they could not go up the River, which in Winter is very boisterous, by reason of many contrary Currents, and the Provisions they could be furnish'd with, in *New-England*, for want of previous Notice, fell much short of what was necessary for such an Expedition. Their Ships were also abundantly too large, insomuch that they could have done nothing to the purpose, had every thing else been rightly managed; so that they were forc'd to return home with the loss of eight of their Transports; and most of the Men in them, who were cast away in that dangerous River.

It proves
fruitless.

BUT the Duke of *Marlborough* had better success in the *Netherlands*, and made it appear to all the World, that his Zeal for the Honour of his Country, and the common Cause, was not to be shaken by any disregard shewn to his Person, and Services; this Campaign having prov'd no less glorious than those, for which he had been so deservedly renown'd over all *Europe*. For the Court of *France*, in hopes of a sudden

den Turn of Affairs, as has been taken notice, had made such preparations as enabled *Villars* to fortify his Lines to that degree, that with great Presumption, he term'd them the *Nephus ultra* of the Confederates; insinuating thereby, that the Confederates could extend their Conquests no further; and he was the more confident and secure, that he found the Duke of *Marlborough* did not offer to attempt any thing for a great part of the Summer; wherefore he form'd a design of invading *Brabant*, which besides the Prospect he had of making himself Master of some part of that Country, it would oblige the Confederate Army to retire to cover *Brussels*, and prevent them absolutely from advancing towards his Lines. But the greater the difficulty was of attacking the *French*, the more glorious it prov'd to the Duke, who knew perfectly well how to improve every opportunity. The Duke had before this form'd a design of entering those Lines, and this Movement of the *French* Army gave him room to put it in execution; who observing carefully all the Motions of the *French*, and what their design was, advanc'd between *Arras* and *Hedin*, as if he meant in earnest to attack them; which so much alarmed *Villars*, that he drew his whole Army to the right of *Arras*, put Troops into *Hedin*, repair'd all Breaches, mounted Cannon where they

The D. of Marlborough's great success.

were most necessary, and in fine did every thing to render the attacking his Lines impracticable. The Duke on the other hand improv'd this Alarm, by performing all the usual Formalities, with so much Conduct, and Secrecy, that the Generals of the Confederate Army did not so much as imagine he had any other view, than to attack the said Lines next Morning. This so amus'd the *French* General, that he kept his Men under Arms night and day, and drew all the strength he could possibly to that side: by which he very much expos'd the Posts on the *Senset*, which were left in a great measure unguarded. The Duke had in the mean while ordered some supernumerary Troops to be posted at *Lisle*, *Tournay*, and the neighbouring Garrisons; with a View to execute his present Design of forcing the Enemies Lines. These Troops met at *Pont la Rach*, at a certain hour, according to the Duke's Orders, and were join'd with the Garrison of *Doway*, that had been reinforc'd with ten good Battalions, which with four Battalions, that were sent from the Army, as an Escorte to the heavy Baggage, made together a Body of 23 Battalions, and 17 Squadrons.

IN the mean time, the Army was expecting Orders to march; but the Orders were not given out till six in the Evening. They began, as soon as it was dark enough,

enough, to strike their Tents without being seen of the Enemy, and the whole Army, when they expected to march to the right, were under the greatest Surprize to find themselves guided to the left. The Duke himself hastened before the rest of the Army, with 50 Squadrons, to sustain the Troops of *Doway*, and those sent from the other Garrisons; and about 5 next morning he passed the *Soharpe* at *Vitri*, where he got Intelligence, that the other Troops had passed the *Senset* at *Arleux* without Opposition, and were repairing the Bridges the *French* had broke down, when they withdrew from that Place. The Duke upon this press'd forward his March, and about 10 at Night, he also passed the *Senset* at *Arleux* with a considerable part of his Troops; and because the *French* had by this time got Intelligence of his March, he formed those who were with him into a Line to receive the Enemy, whom he discover'd early the next morning upon their march towards him. But *Villars* fearing to engage, posted a hundred Men in *Oissy*, a small Garrison, and retired with the rest, thro' the Defile of *Marquion*, where he encamped with a Morass and Rivulet before him. The Main Body of the Confederate Army were all this while upon their march, and the Weather being very favourable, they encompass'd eleven Leagues with-
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He be-
comes Ma-
ster of the
French
Lines.

out; making a halt; and having also passed the *Schorpe* and *Sanfet*, they became Masters of the *French* Lines without striking a Blow, tho in their March they went thro an incredible number of Rivers, De files, and difficult Passes.

THE Confederates having thus got with in the Enemies Lines, is obliged *Killars* to retire towards *Cambray*, where the Duke could not attack him with safety; not only because of the great Fatigue the Army had undergone already in their extraordinary Marches, but the *French* were now so covered with Morasses and Villages, that while the Confederates should endeavour to attack them in that Situation, they might lose the Opportunity of passing the *Schelde*, and of putting another design in execution, which the Duke had formed against *Bouchain*. The *French* used all manner of Stratagems to disappoint the Duke in this Enterprize, which was the more difficult, that the Weather happened now to be wet; but the Confederates having secured two Bridges which the *French* had made ready to their hands, passed the *Schelde* in spite of all opposition, and encamped at *Ivy*, where their Bread-Waggons and heavy Baggage arrived safe, notwithstanding the Enemy set many Stratagems on foot to surprize them. Nevertheless the *French* Army was so numerous and so well provided, that the Duke

Duke of *Marlborough* could not prevent *Villars* from putting some Troops and Necessaries into *Bouchain*. The *French* also endeavoured to possess themselves of *Ivy*, which covered the right Wing of the Confederate Army. But the Duke caused several Redoubts to be made in face of the Enemy, which joined the Line whereby the right Wing was secured, and a Way made towards the Town. The Enemy had carried their Entrenchments so far, that it was judged almost impossible to invest the Town, and had begun a Communication between their Entrenchments and the Town, which would have prevented the Siege altogether had the Duke followed the ordinary Methods usual in such cases. For *Villars* had raised Fortifications on both sides, which obliged the Duke to begin his Lines in the middle, which was the more hazardous, because the Men were forced to work between two great Fires of the Enemies Cannon from both sides, having no advantage, excepting that a rising Ground covered them from the Town, and that the Shot from the Enemies Trenches but just reached them. Neither was this the only Difficulty the Confederates met with. For the *French* also began three Redoubts between *Waurechin* and the Town, but the Duke of *Marlborough* coming in person with a Body of chosen Men, forced them to desist. The *French* tried afterwards

wards to make a new Communication between the two Rivers, and a Morass where they were covered with Willows and Rushes, which hid their Workmen; who with Fascines had made a Parapet from Tree to Tree quite to the Town, and had made a little Post in a narrow Way call'd the *Cow-way*, which leads thro' this Morass about 200 Paces in Length, and 1000 from the Town, guarded by four Companies of Grenadiers, and sustained by the Regiment *du Roy*. But a Body of the Confederate Army passed the *Senset* and *Schelde*, over Bridges of Fascines in spite of the Enemy, who did all they could to prevent them, and the Duke ordered a Detachment of 400 Grenadiers out of this Body to dislodge the *French*; who having a Crown a Man given to encourage them, waded above four or five hundred Paces up to their middle in the Morass, which the Enemy had laid under Water; and the *French* finding the Water not sufficient to prevent their Approach, gave them one sharp Fire, and deserted that Post. The *French* after this did all they could to disturb the Confederate Convoys; but these being well guarded, and not taking the direct way from *Doway*, but being covered by the *Scharpe*, and also by a Line the Duke caused to be made for their Security, by that means arriv'd safe without molestation.

M A N Y

MANY other Enterprizes were set on foot to disturb the Besiegers; for *Villars* kept his Army in continual Motion, tho to no purpose. He attacked the Post at *Hordam*, of which the Confederates had taken possession. He also ordered a Body of 10000 Men to pass the *Senset* to surprize *Doway*, but was disappointed; so that the Duke opened his Trenches, and after a few days made two wide Breaches, took possession of several Posts, and got all things ready for a general Storm; which the Besieged perceiving, offered to capitulate, but were for that time refused, because they insisted upon too high Terms. Nevertheless the whole Garrison, consisting of 2717 private Men, besides Officers, were forced in a few days to surrender Prisoners of War, in sight of the whole *French* Army.

Takes Bou-
chain.

THIS was the last Service the Duke ever performed in the Field, and there was all the reason in the world to believe it would have given a finishing Stroke to the Hopes and Expectations of the *French* King, and brought the War to an honourable and safe Issue, had the Duke been intrusted with the Management of the Peace. But his eminent Services were every day more and more abused by his ungrateful Countrymen. The Ministry had made an Experiment of what they were able to do in the Expedition they had set on foot this Year to *Canada*,
and

and probably if this had met with Success, it might have encouraged them to go upon some other Enterprize of the same kind; and had they been thereby enabled to treat with *France* upon any tolerable footing, they would not have been wanting to have ascrib'd any Advantages the Nation might have gain'd, to their own good Conduct, in managing the War to better Purpose, and more to the Interest of the Nation, than the late Ministry had done: but finding themselves disappointed, they had recourse to new Shifts. This Campaign brought great Glory to the Duke of *Marlborough*, while the Ministry were mortified with their own ill Success, and were forced to make many Excuses for the Misfortune of their late Expedition, which had this effect, to render them the more impatient to have the Duke removed from his Command of the Army, and to drive them on to a precipitate Peace. For it was impossible for them to continue the War upon the same footing the late Ministry had done, after they had exclaim'd so much against their Measures, and had ascrib'd the great Burden of Debt the Nation was fallen into, and the want of Trade to their Avarice and other ill Designs, in protracting the War. And therefore they began, underhand to deal with *French* Emisaries, in order to a Peace.

THIS

THIS same Year, in *April*, the Empe-<sup>The Empe-
ror's
Death.</sup>ror *Joseph* died at *Vienna*, which changed the Face of Affairs very much, and proved favourable to this Design of our new Ministry. That Prince being without Male Issue, his Brother *Charles*, who was then in *Spain*, set up for the Imperial Dignity; which for several Successions had been continued in the House of *Austria*, by reason of their Power and Interest in the Empire; nor could it well miscarry at this time, because he had the Friendship of all the other Allies. And the Ministry here in *England*, being sensible how much his Succession might remove the great Difficulties that must have happened about the Crown of *Spain*, they therefore put the Queen upon using her whole Interest to get him elected; and Mr. *Craggs*, who had been sometime Resident in *Spain*, was ordered to assure him of the Queen's hearty Inclinations to promote his Interest among the Electors; so that all things concurring together, he was on the 12th of *October* following, chosen Emperor without much Opposition.

AFTER this, the Ministry resolved to make a Push at the Duke of *Marlborough*, for as their Views were now altogether to enter upon Negotiations of Peace, so it behoved them to have one placed at the head of the Army, who should act conformably to their Measures: and therefore as their

Agents

Informa-
tion made
against the
D. of Marl-
borough.

Agents had begun with personal Calumny, and had by that means daily increased the number of the Duke's Enemies, so it was absolutely necessary, in order to confirm all the false Reports that were spread concerning him, also to advance certain Facts against him; being sensible that whatever had been suggested by private Hands, would not answer their End effectually without a publick Reprehension. And therefore the Commissioners of Accounts, who had their Instructions from the Ministry, made Information against the Duke, to the House of Commons, That upon the Deposition of Sir *Solomon Medina*, a Jew, who had been employed to supply the Army with Provisions, and upon the Deposition of Mr. *Cardonel*, the Duke's Secretary, they could prove that the Duke had taken great Sums of Money on account of the Contracts, for supplying Bread and Bread-Waggons to the Forces in the *Low Countries*. This Report was made towards the latter End of the Year, before the Duke returned from the Army; who no sooner heard of it, but he sent a Letter to the Commissioners, himself being at the *Hague*: wherein he not only owned the Money he had received upon these Contracts, but acquainted them also of another Perquisite he had received, of two and a half *per Cent.* deducted out of the Pay of the Foreign Troops, in the Service of *Great Britain*. The Duke

made

made it appear that the first was a *Perquisite* which had always been granted to the Commander in Chief, in the *Low Countries*, for procuring Intelligence, and for other secret Services. That the Parliament had also allowed 10000 *l. per Ann.* to be applied to the same Use in the preceeding Reign, which was continued: but K. *William* finding this Money not near sufficient to answer so great an Expence, chose rather than to demand more Money of the Parliament, that the Duke when he went Plenipotentiary to *Holland*, in the beginning of the War, should propose the abovemention'd Deduction, to be made out of the Pay of the Foreign Troops, which they all willingly consented to; and that this was, after the King's death, confirm'd by the Queen's Warrant to him, as Commander in Chief, whereof he sent a Copy to the Commissioners. In the same Letter he acquainted them, that this Money had been truly and honestly bestowed on that part of the Service for which it was given, and that next to the Blessing of God, and the Valour of the Confederate Troops, had contributed to the great success that so constantly attended the Allies in the *Netherlands*.

BUT this Scrutiny was so far from answering what the Court Party propos'd by it, that it rather did the Duke good Service among unprejudiced Persons; who were sensible how much the Success of an Ar-

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my depends upon Intelligence, and how expensive that branch of the Service was, against so powerful an Enemy, who brought such vast Armies into the Field; but especially as the *French* had usually several Enterprizes on foot at once, and were no sooner disappointed in one, than another was ready to be put in execution, which rendered it absolutely necessary for the Duke to be very watchful; and to employ Money without measure, to get intelligence of their Designs. And therefore it was natural to think, the result of this Scrutiny should have been to return the Duke Thanks for employing that Money so much to the advantage of the Common Cause; but instead of that, when the Parliament took this Affair into their Consideration; which was about the beginning of the Year next ensuing, they voted the two and half *per Cent.* publick Money, tho it was a voluntary and allowed Deduction made by the foreign Troops themselves, and upon this ordered the Duke to be prosecuted.

1712.

ABOUT the same time, the Queen removed him from his Command of the Army, as a person who had fallen under her Displeasure, and appointed the Duke of *Ormond* to succeed him as Captain General: which gave no small uneasiness to those at home, who were the most interested in the Welfare of their Country, and to all the Allies abroad, who concluded from this

ex-

extraordinary step in the Queen, that her Ministers design'd to keep in no good Terms with them, but would rather abandon their Interests than change their Measures; and therefore the Ministers of those States, whose Troops were in the *English* Pay; had Orders from their Principals to lay claim to that Money, as Part of the Pay of their Troops; and to declare, That they had voluntarily consented to this Deduction for the good of the Common Cause, and were willing to give the same Allowance to the Duke of *Ormond*, which the Duke of *Ormond* this same Year accepted of, and would not go over to the Army until he had the Queen's Warrant for receiving this, and the other Perquisites, which had been allow'd to the Duke of *Marlborough*. He is vindicated by the Allies.

THESE things tended greatly to vindicate the Duke of *Marlborough* against the Malice of his Adversaries, who did all that was in their power to find some Handle against him, but could not; for the Duke also, upon his return to *England*, clear'd himself very fully, in a Speech which he design'd to have made in the House of Commons. But when he was going to ask their leave to pronounce it, in the hearing of all the Members, was prevented by some of his Friends, who thought it might prove a bad Precedent, and advised him only to have it printed, which accordingly was done. In this he gave an Account of all his Transactions, so

far as related to the discharge of the Confidence and Trust, that had been repos'd in him, as Commander in chief of the Army : wherein it appear'd he had acquitted himself with so much Faith and Integrity, that the Court was forc'd to let drop all Proceedings against him.

*A Design
to accuse
the Earl
Godolphin.*

BUT this did not any ways move the Commissioners, who were still in hopes to find somewhat against the Lord Treasurer Godolphin ; but to no effect, for that Lord had pass'd all his Accounts, so that there remained but some few Matters unfinished, which was owing to his sudden and unexpected Removal, and were soon after clear'd : for he was cautious, even to a degree of fearfulness, and was so punctual in the discharge of his Office, that nothing material could be objected against him. So that this whole Enquiry ended in a noise of great Frauds and Mismanagements, without bringing any other to light than those that have been already mentioned ; which were such as did not affect the Great Men, who were then at the Helm.

*It proves
abortive.*

WHILE these things were transacting, our Ministers were at the same time contriving all possible Methods to bring on the Peace with *France*, to which all these Scrutinies were a Prelude, that under the notion of Publick Abuses, people might grow the more impatient at the Continuance of the War. And things were already so far advanced towards Peace, that a Congress was ap-

appointed; of which we shall take some notice before we proceed to other Affairs. The Queen had, about the latter end of the Year, signified her Inclinations to all the Allies, of putting an end to the effusion of Blood; which she complain'd of, as a thing very disagreeable to her, and wish'd they would concur with her in accomplishing so desirable a work; to which they consented, tho' with some Reluctancy, because it was rumour'd abroad, that the Queen's Ministers had for some time held a secret Correspondence with *France*, and Mr. *Prior*, a man well known by his Poems, formerly Secretary at the Treaty of *Reswick*, was sent over privately into that Kingdom, which gave no small Umbrage to many, both at home and abroad, who by this extraordinary step in the Ministry, were afraid of some underhand Practices. Nevertheless most People were desirous of Peace; and the rather, that *Charles*, whom the Confederates had design'd for the Crown of *Spain*, was now advanc'd to the Imperial Dignity; so that without much difficulty the above-mention'd Congress was agreed to begin at *Utrecht* the first Day of the New Year 1712; and in order thereunto, the Queen sent Letters to all the Allies, that they might dispatch Ministers to that Place.

The Congress at Utrecht.

THE Queen's Plenipotentiaries were the Lord *Raby* and Dr. *Robinson*; the first was created Earl of *Strafford*, having been sent

over some time before as Plenipotentiary to the *States-General*, in the room of the Lord Viscount *Townshend*. The other had been some time Resident at the Court of *Sweden*, where he went first of all Chaplain to a publick Minister, and upon this change came into much Favour at Court, being made Bishop of *Bristol* and Dean of *Windsor*, and probably had this Confidence repos'd in him to oblige the Clergy, many of whom expected that the highest Honours and Preferments in the State, should now be conferr'd upon Persons of their Order. Besides that this Bishop having resided in *Sweden* might have imbib'd some of the Maxims of that Court, which were opposite to the Interest of the Confederates, and therefore might render him the more fit to be employ'd in this grand Negotiation: but be that as it will, he set out with the good liking of all the High-flown Party, who look'd upon this Choice in the Queen to presage all manner of Felicity, both to Church and State.

THE Queen also at the meeting of the Parliament express'd herself very well with respect to the Negotiations then in view:

The Queen's Speech at the opening of the Parliament.

“ That the best Means to obtain a good Peace,
 “ was to make early Preparations for War,
 “ and promised likewise, that she would be
 “ careful of the Interests of all her Allies,
 “ and would unite with them in the strictest
 “ Engagements for continuing the Alliance,
 “ in order to render the General Peace se-

“ cure

"cure and lasting." Besides this Publick Declaration, she also gave the same Assurances to the States-General, before the opening of the Congress, which she confirm'd in a Message to the Parliament the 17th of *January*, when she proposed to join with them in a strict Union, in order to obtain a good Peace, and to guaranty and support the same.

THE *Dutch*, upon the Assurances the Queen gave them, sent their Ministers very soon to the Congress, tho they were not without much Jealousy of the Court of *Great Britain*, which made them appoint Deputies for every Province, who arrived at *Utrecht* before the *French* Ministers; but the Ministers of the other Allies came slowly; and the Court of *Vienna* gave in several Remonstrances to the *Dutch*, against entering upon any Negotiations with *France*, until that Monarch should consent to give up *Spain* to the House of *Austria*.

THE new Emperor also dispatch'd Prince Eugene over into *England*, upon the same Errand, and to concert proper Measures for the Recovery of *Spain*; and for that End he propos'd in the Emperor's Name, not only to send a considerable Body of Men from *Germany* into that Kingdom, but to contribute a 4th part of the whole Expence, which was much more than his Brother the late Emperor had done. Mr. *Harley* was now created Earl *Oxford* and *Mortimer*. He

was also made a Knight of the Garter, and Lord High Treasurer; so that Prince *Eugene* was obliged to make his Addresses to him, as Prime Minister, who in appearance treated him with great Civility, as did also the two Secretaries of State, and having several times Access to the Queen, she also seem'd to express a more than ordinary Regard for him; but as to his Affair, he had only some dark and ambiguous Answers, and at last the Great Men put it off from themselves upon the House of Commons, which caused Prince *Eugene* to stay longer here than was acceptable to the Court Party. He had his Apartments all the while he was at *London* in *Leicester-House*, where besides the Ministers of State who came only as Spies, the great Men of the opposite Party visited him often, and had many long Conferences with him. He was also entertain'd sumptuously by many of the Nobility at their Houses, and had an uncommon Deference paid him by the People, who flocked from all Parts to see him; so that no Man was ever treated more honourably in all respects except in the Business he came about, for the House of Commons postponed his Affair so long, that he was forced to return home without any Answer.

But re-
turns
without a-
ny Answer

NOW the Ministry were so far from regarding any Proposals for continuing the War, that on the contrary, their Agents in the House

of

of Commons were using all possible Endeavours to break off the Engagements the Queen had entered into with her Allies, it being impossible for the Ministry to consult their Interests without disobliging many of their own Friends, who were openly in the Interests of *France* and the Pretender, and without contradicting their own Reports and Surmises of the Allies; which, altho they were not without some Colour of Truth, yet were not only very unseasonable, but for the most part ill-grounded, being raised for no other end, but to give sufficient Countenance to the Design of a separate Peace, in case the Allies should dislike the Terms that might be offered to them. And tho this was indeed strengthening the hands of the common Enemy, yet the House of Commons were so obsequious to the Ministry, that they appointed a Committee to enquire into all Treaties, that subsisted between the Queen and her Allies, wherein their chief Design was to cavil and find fault, as appeared by their Proceedings.

THE Barrier Treaty was the first that was brought upon the Stage. This Treaty ^{The House of Commons find fault with the Barrier Treaty.} was concerted with the States-General above two Years before, *viz.* in 1709, when the Conferences were held at the *Hague*, in order to a general Peace. For after these Conferences broke up, that the Duke of *Marlborough* went to the Army, the Lord Vis-

Viscount *Townshend* was ordered to continue with the Ministers of the States-General to finish this Treaty, that a Foundation of Security might be laid for both Nations, which was done with an Eye to the Peace which they expected, by all Circumstances, to be then near at hand. The particular Design of it, was to secure the Protestant Succession in the House of *Hanover*, whereof the States-General became Guarantees, and were under Engagements to assist *Great Britain* with all their Power, to promote the said Succession. And on the other hand, the Towns and Countries in the *Spanish Netherlands*, which had been taken from the Enemy during the War, were to be left in their hands as a Security to their State, and to become their Barrier, under such Restrictions, as were judged consistent with the Safety of the *British* Commerce, which was provided for upon the Foundation of former Treaties with the Crown of *Spain*, until a new Treaty should be concerted with *Charles* the present Emperor, whom they design'd for that Crown, (his Brother *Joseph* being then alive,) and who was to have the chief Property in the said *Netherlands*, upon his reimbursing the Money which had been expended in maintaining the Garrisons and other new Conquests in those Parts. But tho nothing could be better concerted for the Honour and Interest of this Nation, than

than this Treaty; yet the House of Commons voted some of the Articles thereof, destructive to the Trade of *Great Britain*, and highly dishonourable to the Queen; pretending that the *Dutch*, by having possession of the abovementioned Conquests, would be able to intercept the free Communication of her Majesty's Subjects, with the Towns and Provinces of the *Netherlands*. And therefore they also voted the Lord *Townshend*, who was the publick Minister in this Treaty, an Enemy to his Country. But the reason of this extraordinary Proceeding, seems to have been partly to please those who were disaffected to the Protestant Succession, which was so well secured by it; and partly because the Ministry were sensible that it was not in their power to make Peace without restoring to *France*, several of the Towns which at that time were in possession of the Troops of *Great Britain* and the States-General.

THESE Resolves were also laid before the Queen in a long Representation, with many other Abuses and Connivances, which they said had been between her Majesty's late Ministers and her Allies; particularly that the Persons whom she had of late intrusted with the Management of her Affairs, had been so far from consulting her Majesty's true Interest and the Interest of their Country, that on the contrary they had, to serve
their

*A strange
Representation
against the
late Ministry
and the
Allies.*

their own private Ends, permitted the War to be carried on without obliging the Allies to perform their several Stipulations: and to make this appear, several Estimates were inserted of Men and Money, furnished by this Nation, over and above what was agreed to by Treaty with the Allies, and the States-General were in particular represented as not having contributed their share neither by Sea nor Land.

*The late
Admini-
stration
vindica-
ted.*

BUT this Representation was the Cause of many warm Speeches in the House of Commons. Those Members who had been in Employment during the late Administration, made it their business to clear themselves, and those who had been concerned in the publick Affairs with them, of the Imputation of Injustice towards their Country, by shewing that in their time the utmost Endeavours had been used to oblige the Allies to perform their Stipulations, of which they said the World could not be insensible, by reason of the many publick Memorials which had been sent both from the Court of *Great Britain* and the Elector of *Hanover*, to the Court of *Vienna*, to the general Diet of the Empire, and to the Courts of several other Princes; and that notwithstanding all these and several private Remonstrances sent by the Queen, at the desire of the Duke of *Marlborough* and the rest of her Majesty's Council, yet the *Germans* were either

either defective or so late in furnishing their *Quota's*, that the Operations of War were by that means often retarded. They also put the House in mind, that the same Dilatoriness was often complain'd of by the late King *William*, which obliged *England* and *Holland* to take a greater Burden upon them during the last War, than came to their share. And as to *Portugal*, that the Ministry judg'd it necessary at the beginning of the War, not to be over-pressing upon that Nation, not only for the sake of our Commerce, but because our Alliances with the King of *Portugal* might be very precarious, if *France* should gain any Advantages on that side; and whatever Exceedings happened on the account of *Portugal*, were necessarily conniv'd at for the Benefit of the common Cause in general, and for the Advantage of *Great Britain* in particular, which must have been at great loss in carrying on the War by Sea, unless the Confederate Fleet had been allowed the Liberty of the *Portuguese* Ports and Harbours.

AS to what concerned the *States-General*, the same Members also gave an Account of the several Transactions between the two Nations, for the managing the War, so as might tend most to the good of the common Cause, whereof they gave undeniable Proofs in all the Steps the late Ministry had taken with the *Dutch*. But the

A Memo-
rial from
the States
General.

Dutch finding their Fidelity struck at by the House of Commons, sent over a very full Memorial in their own Vindication, a Translation of which was soon printed here, whereby it appeared to all unbiass'd Persons, that the Committee which drew up this Representation, to say nothing worse of them, had undertaken what they did not understand, or at least would be at no just pains to come to the true knowledge of this Affair. For they form'd their Judgment from the several Estimates of the effective Men in the Field, and the number of Ships that acted in conjunction with those of *Great Britain*, whereby there indeed appear'd to be some Deficiencies which the States claimed in their Memorial, and made it appear that they had not fallen short, but had even exceeded and gone beyond their Stipulations. They acknowledged that the Treaties of Alliance had indeed obliged *Great Britain* and *Holland* to furnish their several Proportions of Men, and Ships, to act in certain appointed Places, but that the various Exigences of the War had rendered it impossible to act directly according to Stipulations without a manifest Detriment to the common Cause. Now the Committee had taken the Estimates from the Admiralty Office, and brought them to prove that the *Dutch* had fallen short of their number of Ships that were to have acted in concert

concert with those of *Great Britain*, in the same Stations, because there were no other of the *Dutch* Ships inserted in the Office Books, but those which had join'd the *British* Fleet. But the *States-General* in Answer took notice, that when the *French* found they were unable to make head against the united Fleets of *Great Britain* and *Holland*, they left off assembling their whole Strength at Sea, as they had done several times during the War, but lay ready to take all Opportunities to annoy the *British* and *Dutch* Trade, which obliged both Nations to alter their Measures; and when it was found that the Proportion of *Great Britain* in the Channel and Mediterranean, required but a few Ships more to render them superiour to any number the *French* brought together in those Parts, the *Dutch* were allowed by consent to withdraw their other Ships, where they might be most needful, and for that reason they took wholly upon themselves the Guard and Defence of the *North Seas*, and of the *Baltick*; which was more expensive to them and of much greater Importance than if they had acted directly according to the Stipulations of the Treaties of Alliance between them and *Great Britain*. And they made it plainly appear from their own Estimates, which they inserted in this Memorial, that besides their whole *Quota* of Ships of War, they had sent out a considerable number of

of *Frigates* and *Privateers*, over and above their Stipulations; which were maintain'd at the Charge of the several Provinces, and did good Service. And as to their Proportion by Land, particularly in *Portugal* and *Spain*, wherein the Committee alledged they had been deficient; they said, it was well known that the Queen had taken the Emperor's Proportion wholly upon her self, on condition that she should take a greater Burden of the War in *Italy* and *Germany*, tho this Method was again chang'd upon the Evacuation of *Italy*; which shew'd the Necessity of varying from the general Schemes laid down at the beginning of the War. In like manner their Republick was excus'd from sending their full *Quota* to *Spain*, in regard they were at much greater Charge in the *Netherlands*, than had been concerted in the Treaties of Alliance, having constantly maintain'd greater numbers of Men there, than their *Quota*; having also stood to the Hazard and Expence of all Repairs of the Fortifications, and likewise in furnishing the Artillery made use of in all Sieges; besides their great Losses, by means of the Contributions exacted in the beginning of the War, from the Countries depending on their Frontiers and many other Expences, particularly in furnishing most of the Men, who compos'd the Garrisons in the new Conquests. All which the *Dutch* represented

sented in so plain and open a manner, that the Ministry were at a loss how to excuse this proceeding of their Friends in the House of Commons; who being most of them raw unexperienc'd Men, and many of them violently prejudiced against the *Dutch*, they therefore voted this Memorial from the *States-General*, a pretended or forg'd Memorial, hoping by that means to hide their own Rashness and Folly; and the better to impose this Deceit on the Publick, Mr. *Buckley*, the Publisher and Printer thereof, was order'd into Custody. But as the World was soon convinced that this Memorial was Genuine, so an Answer was made to it in the Queen's Name, and conceived in such Terms, as might incense the Nation against them. This Answer was sign'd by Secretary *St. John*: It was very short and indirect, ^{The Dutch} there being no notice taken of the Particulars ^{abus'd.} mentioned in the Memorial, but only charging the *States-General* with Ingratitude and Want of Respect to the Queen, and all this with an Air of the highest Resentment, as if she had suffered some great Indignity at their hands. But tho all unbiass'd Persons perceived plainly what a poor Evasion this was; yet it had in some measure the Effect which the Ministry intended by it, as it open'd Peoples Mouths against the *Dutch*, notwithstanding they had made it appear by this Memorial, that they had contributed in

a very eminent manner towards the Advancement of the Common Cause, and that they were next to *Great Britain* in supporting the Protestant Interest, and the Liberties of *Europe*.

BUT how unseasonable these Jarrings were, while the Ministers of all sides were met together to treat of a general Peace, the Issue will show. For while some here in *England*, were exclaiming against the *Dutch*, as a perfidious selfish People, who studied only their own Interest; and while others stood up no less hotly in their Vindication, being apprehensive what such Misunderstandings would produce; the *French King* took the advantage of these Confusions to make some Offers by way of preliminary, which were highly dishonourable to *Great Britain*, and to all the Allies, having order'd his Ministers to make the following Proposals, which were sign'd *Huxelles*, and dated the eleventh of *February* N. S. “ To *Great Britain*, “ That he would acknowledge the Queen’s “ Title, and the Succession as settled by “ Law, and in the manner that might “ please her *Britannick* Majesty: That he “ would cause the Fortifications of *Dunkirk* “ to be demolish’d immediately after “ the Peace, for a satisfactory Equivalent: “ That the Island of *St. Christopher* and “ *Hudson’s Bay* should be yielded entire to “ *Great Britain* in lieu of *Acadia*, Port- “ *Royal*,

The
French
Prelimi-
naries.

“ *Royal*, and its Fort, which should be re-
“ stored to *France*: That the Island of *New-*
“ *foundland* should also be yielded up to
“ *Great Britain*, excepting the Fort *Pla-*
“ *centia*, with the right of catching and dry-
“ ing of Fish, which should be reserv'd to
“ *France*. That a Treaty of Commerce
“ should be made upon as equal Conditions
“ as possible. To the *States-General* he
“ promised in name of his Grandson, who
“ he said had made over the *Spanish Ne-*
“ *therlands* to the Elector of *Bavaria*, that
“ these Provinces should serve as their Bar-
“ rier upon condition that *Aire, St. Ve-*
“ *nant, Dowaay, and Bethune*, and their
“ Dependances should be restored to *France*.
“ As for Trade, Exceptions were made a-
“ gainst some Conditions, which had been
“ obtained by the Treaty of *Reswick*, for
“ the Security of the Commerce of *Great*
“ *Britain* and *Holland*. That *Lisle* and
“ *Tournay*, with their Dependances, should
“ be restor'd to *France* as an Equivalent for
“ demolishing the Works of *Dunkirk*. He
“ proposed to settle the Limits of the Em-
“ pire, as before the War, reserving to
“ himself *Strasbourg*, and *Hunengen*, (the
“ two principal Keys thereof.) He insisted
“ that the Electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria*,
“ who had been put to the Ban for siding
“ with him against the Emperor and the o-
“ ther Allies, should be restored to their

“ Dominions and Sovereignties, and reci-
 “ procally that he would recognize in *Ger-*
 “ *many* all Titles which he had not as yet ac-
 “ knowledged. He promis’d that his Grand-
 “ son should renounceall Pretensions to *Na-*
 “ *ples* and *Sardinia*, as well as the Dutchy
 “ of *Milan*, which should be given to the
 “ Duke of *Savoy*, provided the House of
 “ *Austria* would in like manner desist from
 “ all Pretensions to the rest of the Kingdom
 “ of *Spain* and the *Indies*. That he would re-
 “ store to the Duke of *Savoy*, what he had
 “ taken from him during the War, on con-
 “ dition that the Duke should restore what
 “ he had taken from *France*. That all
 “ things in *Portugal* should be established
 “ on the same footing as before the War,
 “ and if there should remain any difference
 “ concerning the Dominions of that Crown
 “ in *America*, endeavours should be used to
 “ agree them amicably. Lastly, that he
 “ would on his *bona fide* concert with the
 “ Allies all the most just Measures for pre-
 “ venting the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*
 “ being united on the same Head.”

THESE were in Substance the Articles,
 which the *French* King proposed to the Al-
 lies, in order to a general Peace; which gave
 no small surprize to all *Europe*, in regard
 his Affairs were reduc’d at this time to a very
 low Ebb, excepting what expectations he
 might have from the Distractions in *Great Bri-*
tain.

tain. For before the Queen chang'd her Ministry, and even for some time after, nothing was heard all over *France*, but Complaints and Murmurs, and in *Lyons* and several other Great Cities at a distance from *Paris*, The low Estate of Affairs in France. the Governours had much difficulty to keep the People from raising Tumults and Insurrections, so great was their Distress and Poverty; which obliged the Great Men of that Kingdom to use all possible Means, whereby they might turn the King's Mind to entertain thoughts of Peace; especially the Bishops and Clergy were very solicitous in this matter, partly from the Dangers that threatned the *Roman Catholick* Religion, if things should be brought to the last Extremity, and partly from a sense of the wretched Condition the Affairs of *France* were already brought into by the King's unbounded Ambition: so that they came to wait on the King in a Body, where Cardinal *Noailles*, who was their Speaker, acted his part with a great deal of Address.

“ He commended the King's great Constancy and Magnanimity under Adversity, as
 “ being equal to those Virtues he had discovered when his Arms were the most prosperous and successful. That his Majesty
 “ did not strive against Men, but against Heaven, his Schemes being the most just
 “ and equitable, and his Measures the most
 “ wise that had ever been devis'd; and that

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“ the

“ the want of success in them was only that
 “ he might show to the World fresh Instances
 “ of his most consummate Piety and Mag-
 “ nanimity. But that his Resignation to the
 “ Will of Heaven, and his Humanity to-
 “ wards Men, would yet appear more con-
 “ spicuous by consenting to pacifick Mea-
 “ sures, while he had still a People willing
 “ to obey to the utmost of their power
 “ whatever he should command, tho the
 “ vast Burden of a long continued War had
 “ rendered them unable to perform that Du-
 “ ty which was required of a most obedient
 “ People to the best of Kings.”

THIS was the Language of the Cardinal
 and some of the chief Men of *France*, who
 knew full well the State of their Affairs. And
 it was even manifest from all their late pro-
 ceedings, that they were brought on their
 last Legs, being obliged to raise Recruits by
 Lot out of all the Generalities and Parishes,
 and to compel most of those Recruits to go
 into the Service; and notwithstanding all
 the Plate and Money the King had every
 Year from the *Spanish West-Indies*, he was
 oblig'd to impose a Tax of the Tenth Penny
 on all Incomes by Houses, Lands, Annu-
 ties, or by other Profits, even as King *John*
 one of his Predecessors had done when he
 was reduc'd to the lowest Ebb by *Edward*
 the Third, of *England*, and the Black Prince
 his Son; the said *John* being under the ne-
 cessity

necessity of asking of the States of his Kingdom
 a Tax on all Revenues, whether arising from
 Goods or Offices, Wages or Salaries. The same
 and other unusual Taxes had been rais'd du-
 ring the last Years of the late War, whereby
 the Courage of the *French* Nation was quite
 sunk and depress'd; they had lost all the Con-
 quests the King had made in his own life-
 time, besides several important Places which
 had been in the possession of that Crown for
 some Ages before. The Allies were now in
 possession of the *Maase* almost to the In-
 let of the *Sambre* and the *Schelde* beyond
Tournay, and of the *Lys* so far as it is navi-
 gable. And besides the Conquests of *Bava-*
ria, *Cologn*, and other Countrys of *Germa-*
ny; the Allies had also reduc'd so much of
Guelderland, as had formerly been left to
Spain by the Treaty of *Munster*. Likewise
Limburg, *Brabant*, *Mechlin*, *Flanders*, two
 thirds of *Hainault*, with their Strong-Holds,
 the Conquest of which, were in a great mea-
 sure thought impracticable. The *French* had
 also lost a great part of *Artois*, and some o-
 ther Provinces were brought under Contri-
 bution. And by the taking *Bouchain* the
 preceeding Campaign, and by the progress
 of the Confederate Army on the *Scharpe* and
 the *Lys*, they were become in effect Masters
 of two Rivers, which by means of the *Deule*
 and its Canal had been serviceable to the
French for many Years in their continual In-
 vasions

vations of the *Spanish-Netherlands*, of which they were now altogether depriv'd.

THUS I judg'd it necessary to make a short Recapitulation of the most important Conquests the Allies had made, during the Course of the War; that the Reader without going back into the History of preceeding Years, might at once have a View of the Condition to which *France* was reduced, when the above mentioned Offers were made; for by means of these Conquests, the *French* Frontiers must have soon been devoured by the Armies on both sides, at the same time that it would have been difficult for the *French* to bring dry Forage from their inmost Provinces to the said Frontiers, for want of Rivers; whereas the Allies, by means of the above-mentioned Rivers, which were become part of their new Conquests, could easily form the necessary Magazines of Hay and Oats, in the Towns and Places lying nearest the Enemy: so that the Allies would have had the Advantage for the future, of entering at any time into the Kingdom of *France*, and wanted only the Performance of one other Exploit, to have enabled them to penetrate to the Source of the *Schelde*, to the *Somme* and the *Oyse*, so as the *Spaniards* might have done after the Battle of *St. Quintin*, which obliged *France* at that time to submit to the famous Treaty of *Chateau Cambresis*, by which the *French* yielded

yielded up 198 Towns in lieu of three only, that *Spain* restored to them in *Picardy*.

THIS being the State of the *French* King's Affairs, upon the opening of the Congress at *Utrecht*; it was no wonder that all the Allies received his Offers with the greatest Indignation, in regard they could not well have expected worse, had he been upon equal Terms with them. But the Subjects in this Kingdom, who had ventured a great part of their Substance, upon the publick Faith, were not a little incensed against the Ministry, believing it to be either thro' their Weakness and Insufficiency, that such dishonourable Proposals were offered, or else that they had been bribed into the Interest of *France*; and it was judged to be no Breach of Charity to think so, considering what Concessions the *French* King was willing to have made above two Years before, when *Doway*, *Fort-Scharpe*, *Mons*, *Tournay*, *Bouchain*, and several Countries of Importance were still in his hands. The greatest and wealthiest Members of the House of Commons were irritated, upon account of their Possessions, and the Interest they had in preserving their Countries Liberties, which they judged must be on a very precarious footing, without a safe and advantageous Peace. The Peers also taking these Offers into Consideration, unanimously addressed the Queen, shewing their highest Resentment

The Offers of France, how received by the Allies.

of this Affront, offered to her Majesty and the Nation; to which the Queen could not avoid giving a favourable Answer, whereby the Ministry were not a little puzzled how to excuse their own Conduct. However, they endeavoured to put the best Construction upon the *French* King's Offers, which they could do with the more freedom, that the *French* had model'd them in such Terms as might be interpreted either in a larger or more limited Sense; and the better to amuse the Publick, several new Plans were published by their Agents in the daily Papers, that the Genuine Offers might not be known to the Generality of the Nation, or at least that People might imagine they had brought the *French* to better Terms. And as the Ministry were sensible of their own Inability to obtain a good Peace, so they kept to their old Topick, in running down the Circumstances of the Nation, at the same time they took all imaginable pains falsely to extol the Power of *France*, which gain'd the more Credit with the common People, that the *French* had continual Resources, whereby they rather increas'd than diminish'd their Armies; which seem'd strange to those who had some feeling of the publick Burden at home, but were unacquainted with the State of the War, and of Foreign Affairs. Most People were indeed but too full of Expectations at the beginning of the War, flattering themselves

selves after every signal Victory, that all would be over in a short time, and that the Duke of *Marlborough* would soon have it in his power to go to *Paris*. But they did not consider the vast Strength and Importance of the Countries and Fortresses in the possession of *France*, which were to be won before that could be done: so that when the Allies had with the Expence of much Blood and Treasure, very near accomplished that which most Men had so long looked for, yet because this did not come to pass in the time, which themselves in their own fond Conceits had limited, many therefore grew altogether incredulous; especially as they had imbib'd the worst Impressions of those who had the Management of the War, so that they looked upon it to be as far as ever from coming to a Period: and this Humour, which prevail'd very much, was encouraged by the Ministry and their Agents, and tend-
ed greatly to forward their Designs.

HOWEVER the Ministry had much ado to manage their Point; for tho' their Delusions went very far among the common People, and among many others who were drawn over to their side by false Motives, or such as laboured under strong Prejudices, or were ignorant of those things that made for the true Interest of their Country, yet it was observable that they began to lose ground among some of the better Sort of
their

*The Earl
of Not-
tingham
and others
desert the
Ministry.*

their own Party, The Earl of *Nottingham*, tho at first he sided with the Court, yet he soon left them, when he perceived the Tendency of their Measures and the unhappy Prospect of Affairs under their Management; and others were ready to abandon their Interest with the more Freedom, that they had his Example to follow: which proved a no small Disappointment to them, because the Earl's Zeal for the Established Church, about which that Party had made so great an Outcry, was known to be such as had never been called in question; and therefore his falling off, caused several other great Men to sit but loosely to them afterwards. This Coldness towards the Ministry was so plainly visible among the Lords, that being fearful lest their Schemes and Projects might meet with a Stop there, and thereby issue in their own Disgrace or Downfal, and to prevent a Storm that threatned the New Treasurer, they advised the Queen to create twelve new Peers, some of whom were the Earl of *Oxford's* near Relations, others of them Mr. *St. John's* intimate Friends, that they might peradventure turn the Scales in that House to their own advantage; and for the more Expedition, these twelve Peers were all made on one Day, which was the more remarkable, that no such Expedient had ever been practis'd in any former Reign, nor was it ever known

*Twelve
new Peers.*

known that such a Number of Peers were created at one Time.

IT would be almost endless to recount all the Artifices were set on foot about this time by the Queen's Ministers and their Agents, to impose as well on their Friends as on those who opposed them. The Queen having declared, at the opening of this Session, that she intended to carry on the War vigorously, until she should obtain honourable Terms of the Enemy, and having by that means got a Supply of near 7 Millions, which was more than had been raised at any time since the War began; so that they might carry on their Farce the better, they made all the usual Preparations for the ensuing Campaign: the Duke of *Ormond* had orders to make ready with all possible expedition to go over to the Army, and things were got in sufficient forwardness, that they might take the Field betimes; upon which most People were willing to wait patiently for the Issue, in hopes another Campaign, if the Events should prove favourable, might bring Affairs to a better Conclusion than many expected. For tho the wiser Sort had indeed no great Expectations from the Duke of *Ormond*, whom they knew to be no great Head-piece, and of small Experience; yet their Confidence was very great in Prince *Eugene* and the other old Generals, both Foreigners and *Englishmen*, that they would
do

do their utmost at such an extraordinary Conjunction: so that the Nation was now full of Expectations, both from the Army and the Congress.

*The Duke
of Or-
mond's
Conduct.*

THE Duke of *Ormond*, according to his Orders, went to *Holland*, and arrived at the *Hague* some time before the Campaign was opened, where he was received by the States-General with the same outward Marks of Distinction they had usually shewn to the Duke of *Marlborough*; and it was no small Satisfaction to many, that he gave the States Assurances in the Queen's Name, that he would act in concert with the Allies. The Army was also in a better Condition, and all Things in greater forwardness than had been known since the War began. For the *Germans*, when they understood that the Duke of *Marlborough* was out of all Favour, bestirred themselves with more than ordinary Diligence, and were got into the Field much sooner than usual; so that the Confederate Army made a very noble Appearance, and were never so advantageously posted, having all the Country behind, in full Possession, with fine navigable Rivers, and a vast number of Barks and small Vessels to supply them with all manner of Necessaries. The *French*, who continued still under the Command of the Marshal *Villars*, lay very open with their Right at *Castelet*, and their left near *Cambray*, having indeed the *Schelde*
bc-

before them, but the Country all open between the Spring-head of that River and the *Somme*, which gave no small Jealousy to the Confederate Generals, that there might be some under-hand Dealings between the *English* Ministry and the Court of *France*, because they knew *Villars* to be a Man who spared no Pains or Expence to secure himself, and his Men from Danger. Nevertheless Prince *Eugene* made all the necessary Dispositions to give him Battle. But when he came to confer with the Duke of *Ormond*, he found him very backward to engage; which made the Prince and the Confederate Generals, press the Matter home upon him; so that after several indirect Answers, he told them he had received positive Orders from the Queen, not to consent to a Battle, but that he was not restrained from engaging with them in a Siege. This put the Generals into a very great Confusion, and some time was spent in consulting what Resolution they had best to take under this Disappointment; but at last they agreed to invest *Quesnoy*, and having made all things ready for that purpose, the Duke of *Ormond* took upon him to cover the Siege.

His Orders not to fight.

BUT it is impossible to express how much the Allies were alarm'd at this under-hand dealing of the *English* Ministers, whereby they indeed greatly forfeited the Queen's Honour

Honour in giving the Duke Orders so very contrary to what he had declared to the States-General in her Name: for the Generals forthwith sent Dispatches to their several Courts, and the News was soon spread over all *Europe*. As for the States Field-Deputies, who are Commissioners appointed by the States-General to attend their Armies partly as Overseers, and partly as Assistants, they sent off two Expresses immediately, one to their Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, and another to the *Hague*. The *Dutch* Ministers at *Utrecht* delay'd no time, but as soon as their Express came to their hands, they acquainted the Bishop of *Bristol* with the Contents of it; and as they could not forbear doing it with some Resentment, it provoked the Bishop's Passion, who told them with a great deal of warmth, that he had Orders to let them know his Mistress's Sentiments: "That she looked on herself " to be loosed from all Engagements and " Alliances with their State." But as such a Declaration might be of fatal Consequence at so Critical a Time; the States-General therefore could not be silent, but sent a Letter immediately to the Queen, wherein they set forth the many ill Consequences that might attend her present Measures, and how her Majesty's late Orders had already lost the Allies the fairest Opportunity they ever had or perhaps might have for the future, of giving

*A strange
Declara-
tion of the
Bishop of
Bristol.*

giving a decisive Blow to the Enemy; but that these Orders had not given them so much surprize as the Bishop of *Bristol's* Declaration to their Ministers at *Utrecht*. In the same Letter they also gave their Reasons for their not having hitherto acquiesced to treat upon the *French* Proposals, and likewise charged the Queen modestly with Breach of Promise, in not prosecuting the War in Conjunction with her Allies, as the Duke of *Ormond* had declared to them in her Name; besides which, many other things were freely represented to her. But her Ministers were too far gone in the Interest of *France*, to advise her to any thing that might either be for her own Honour or the real Good of the Common Cause; and these Orders to the Duke had brought them into such a Dilemma, that they could not easily extricate themselves again. So that they employ'd some Divines to persuade the Queen, that it was her Duty to save the shedding of Christian Blood; which indeed was a very plausible Argument to be made use of with a Woman of so much Delicacy, tho it proved the Cause of more Bloodshed afterwards, and of many other ill Consequences, as will appear by the Sequel.

BUT this Letter from the *States-General* gaul'd the Ministry so sorely, that they drew up a very sharp Answer to it in the Queen's

M

Name,

The States-General charge the Queen with Breach of Promise.

Name, wherein the blame was laid wholly on their Obstinacy, and the Queen vindicated only in general Terms, as if she had been in the right and they altogether in the wrong; which kind of Answer laid them open to all Men of Sense, and discovered plainly where the fault lay. There was indeed one Circumstance which gave our Ministers a very plausible colour of Resentment. For the Letter from the States-General was in print almost as soon as it was communicated to the Queen, and therefore it was styl'd in the Queen's Answer, " An Appeal to the People rather than an Address to the Sovereign, and that her Honour would not permit her to give Answer to any that should come in that manner for the future." Now the States knew very well the Temper and Genius of our Ministers and their Party, and therefore that the People of *Great Britain* might have right Information of their own Affairs, so far as they interfered with their Republick; and likewise that their own Subjects might be acquainted with their Proceedings, and to justify their Conduct in the sight of the other Allies; had ordered their Letter to be published in *Holland*, as soon as their Dispatches were sealed up for *England*, that no time might be lost at so hazardous a Conjunction: but the Mail happening to be detain'd by contrary Winds, the same Wind that brought the Queen's

Queen's Letter, also brought over the *Dutch* News-Papers, wherein that Letter was printed, so that it was translated into the *English* Papers in a few days. But all this would not have disgusted our Courtiers, had not the Letter exposed their ill Conduct to the World, particularly in what related to the Queen's Breach of Promise, and her abandoning her Treaties and Engagements; and therefore to prevent the ill Consequences this might have among the People, the Ministry influenced their Friends and Dependents in the House of Commons for the greater Pomp and Solemnity to pass their publick Censure upon it, and accordingly a Vote was procured in that House, "De-
 " claring the printing of the said Letter be- A Vote of the House of Commons against them.
 " fore it had been presented to the Queen,
 " to be a great Indignity offered to her Ma-
 " jesty, and ordered an Address to be drawn
 " up, beseeching her Majesty would give no
 " Answer for the future to any Letters or
 " Memorials sent from the States-General
 " in that manner." Which Vote was to corroborate what the Queen had already done in her Answer, and to inspire the ignorant and deluded Part of the Nation with an implacable dislike to the *Dutch*, against whom they had already imbib'd many Prejudices.

BUT this was not done without very great Opposition, for those who had been formerly in Power were under the deepest

Concern to see things managed in so unaccountable a manner, and considering the ill Effects such publick Decisions might have, did all they could to put by the said Resolve, as it might be the means to dishearten all the Allies, or drive them on to such Measures, as might in the end be prejudicial to *Great Britain*; and on the other hand give the greatest Encouragement to the common Enemy, to impose his own Terms on every one of the Allies, when he should find the most considerable among them at variance: besides the mischief it might do among the giddy Multitude at home, who had already imbib'd many fatal Prejudices, not only with respect to the *Dutch*, but against every thing that made for the true Interest of their Country; but especially that the major Part were more apt to judge by such Publick Decisions, than from any impartial Examination into the things themselves. But when these Gentlemen found that all their Arguments could avail nothing, they endeavour'd to promote another Resolve, which might at least help to keep up the Honour and Reputation of their Country, by making it appear to the World, that these Proceedings were not approved excepting only by such as were guided by the Court, or imposed on by the Ministry; and therefore Mr. *Pulteney* mov'd to draw up an Address

dress to the Queen, “ Declaring the Surprize
 “ many of her good Subjects were under
 “ at the late Orders given to the Duke of Or-
 “ *mond* not to fight the common Enemy,
 “ and that from a deep Sense of the ill Con-
 “ sequences that might arise from thence to
 “ the Common Cause, they should beseech
 “ her Majesty to give Instructions to her Ge-
 “ neral to prosecute the War with the ut-
 “ most Vigour in conjunction with the Al-
 “ lies, as the surest means to procure a safe
 “ and honourable Peace.” This Motion was
 back’d by many Great Men, but as the Mini-
 stry had been the Advisers of the Duke’s Or-
 ders not to fight, and as this Motion struck
 so home at their present Designs, it could
 not be expected they should be able to go
 through with it against so great a Majority;
 tho none of the Ministers had much to say
 in defence of the present Measures, but only
 screen’d themselves under the Queen’s Autho-
 rity, and branded those with Disloyalty, who
 opposed their Proceedings.

THIS Affair was about the same time
 brought into the House of Peers by the Lord
Halifax, who made a fine Speech, where-
 in he shewed the dangerous Consequences of
 putting a stop to the Operations of War, and
 of a separate Peace with *France*, which the
 Ministry had now in view. This Lord was
 back’d by the Earl of *Wharton*, and several
 other Great Men, who were like to have gain’d

their Point against the Court Party, who had little to say for themselves further, than that they were commanded by the Queen to acquaint the House, that she had sent Orders to the Duke of *Ormond* to join with the Allies in a Siege, being willing to shift off the Question concerning his Orders of Restraint; and when it was alledg'd the Ministry had some Design of making a separate Peace, one of them made Answer, that it would be knavish, foolish, and villanous. But this gave very little satisfaction, because by not fighting the Enemy they had lost the opportunity of laying Siege to *Cambray*, which open'd a direct way into *France*, and the besieging any other place, was only losing time and wasting the Subsidies that had been raised for this Year's Service: so that the Argument was pursued very hotly for some time, to have an Address presented to the Queen concerning the Duke's Orders, until the Lord Treasurer *Oxford* put an end to the Debate, by assuring the Lords that the Queen would in a few days lay before them from the Throne the Conditions on which a general Peace might be made, which he doubted not would give them entire satisfaction; whereupon several Peers, who had stood up for the Address, acquiesced out of Respect and Duty to the Queen. But those who were the most zealous against the Proceedings of the Ministry, entered their
Protest

Protest in three Articles against the Duke's Orders.

FIRST, " That they were convinc'd the Duke of *Ormond* lay under some Order of Restraint, not only from the Accounts that were publick, that both Prince *Eugene* and the States Deputies earnestly pressed him to join in attacking the *French* Army, which was then known to be much inferiour to that of the Allies both in the number and condition of their Troops ; but also as nothing of that whole matter had been denied by the Lords, who had the means of knowing these Facts, as would undoubtedly have been done, had not the said Facts been true, since no scruple was made of acquainting the House with a subsequent Order very lately sent to the Duke of *Ormond*, allowing him to join in a Siege ; which was a further Evidence that he had before some Order of Restraint, for otherwise this last Order would be unnecessary and absurd : it being a general, constant, and standing Instruction to every Commander in chief, both by Land and Sea, to do his utmost Endeavours to annoy the Enemy ; and that it was manifest by this last Order, that even in the Opinion of the Ministers it was expedient to take off this Restraint in some degree, and the leaving the Duke of *Ormond* still under a Restraint from giving

*A Protest
against the
Duke of
Ormond's
Orders.*

“ Battle to the *French*, seem'd unaccountable and inconsistent with the Liberty indulged to him of joining in a Siege, and rendered it altogether useless, because no place when taken could be of such advantage to the Allies as *Cambray*, which opened a free Passage for the Army into the Heart of *France*; and because it was impossible to besiege that place, without dislodging the *French* from their Encampment; and this also was impossible, if the *French* would keep their ground. Other Attempts seem'd to be of little use, but might serve to give the *French* time, which they did not want Skill to improve.

SECONDLY, “ That they conceiv'd it would be derogatory to the Queen's Honour, to publick Faith, and that Justice, which was due to the Allies, and that it was a sort of imposing a Cessation of Arms on them without their Consent, and in the most prejudicial manner, because they were not so much as acquainted with it, and might thereby be led into great Difficulties, besides that it frustrated all essential Advantages against the common Enemy, which might be of fatal Consequence to the Nation and to all *Europe*.

THIRDLY, “ Because it was acknowledged that a general Peace was not concluded, as indeed it was very unlikely it should,

“ should, there having been no Answers
“ given in writing by the *French* to the spe-
“ cifick Demands of the Allies, tho the
“ same were deliver’d to the *French* three
“ Months before this time, besides that it
“ was declared by an Eminent Person in the
“ Ministry, *That there was no separate*
“ *Peace, and that such a Peace would be*
“ *foolish, knavish, and villanous*; and there-
“ fore while the Nation was in War, with-
“ out any Security of a Peace, they con-
“ ceiv’d that such an Order of Restraint was
“ a plain Neglect of all those happy Op-
“ portunities, which Providence had of late
“ put into the hands of the Confederates, of
“ subduing the common Enemy, and forcing
“ him to a just and honourable Peace; and
“ that it was imprudent and dangerous to
“ rely on the Promises of *France*, which
“ were so far from being any Security, that
“ even in their Opinion, a Peace would not
“ be safe, unless it was so satisfactory to all
“ the Allies, that they should be willing to
“ join with *Great Britain* in a mutual Gua-
“ ranty of it. And the Queen having with
“ great Wisdom declared to the Parliament,
“ *That the best means of obtaining a good*
“ *Peace, was to make early Preparations*
“ *for War, and by a vigorous Prosecution*
“ *of it*: And since the Parliament had with
“ great Duty and Deference to her Maje-
“ sty, and from a just Zeal to the Interest of
“ their

“ their Country and of all *Europe*, gi-
 “ ven very great Supplies for that Pur-
 “ pose; they conceived that such an Or-
 “ der of Restraint being very different
 “ from that Declaration of the Queen,
 “ must be the Effect of very ill Advice,
 “ by which the Parliament’s good Inten-
 “ tions would be defeated, and all those
 “ heavy Loads of Taxes, which they had for
 “ such good Purposes cheerfully given, ren-
 “ dered fruitless and unnecessary, and might
 “ in conclusion, after the Nation had thus
 “ trifled away its Wealth and Time, be
 “ brought under the necessity of accepting
 “ such a Peace, as it should please an inso-
 “ lent and domineering Enemy to give.”

THE Peers who sign’d this Protest were
 the Dukes of *Devonshire*, *Marlborough*,
Rutland, *Bolton*, *Montagu*, and *Somerſet*.
 The Marquess of *Dorchester*. The Earls of
Wharton, *Derby*, *Nottingham*, *Bridgwa-*
ter, *Godolphin*, *Carlisle*, *Orford*, and *Scar-*
borough. The Lord Viscount *Townshend*.
 The Bishops of *Oxford*, *Sarum*, *Bangor*,
 and *St. Afaph*: and the Lords *Rockingham*,
Cowper, *Haversham*, *Mobun*, and *Hali-*
fax.

THE Queen came to the House in a few
 Days after this, as the Lord Treasurer had
 promised, and made a long Speech, contain-
 ing the Terms she had procured of the *French*
 King, on which she said a general Peace

might be made, being in substance as follows.

“ THAT the assuring the *Protestant* ^{The}
 “ *Succession*, as by Law establish'd in the ^{Queen's}
 “ House of HANOVER, being what she had ^{Speech con-}
 “ nearest at Heart ; she had taken particular ^{cerning the}
 “ care not only to have that acknowledged ^{Pence.}
 “ in the strongest Terms, but to have an ad-
 “ ditional Security, by the removal of the
 “ Person out of the Dominions of *France*,
 “ who had pretended to disturb the said
 “ Settlement.

“ AND with respect to the present War,
 “ as the Apprehension left *Spain* and the
 “ *West-Indies* might be united to *France*,
 “ was the chief Inducement to begin it, so
 “ the effectual preventing of such an Union
 “ was the Principle she had laid down at the
 “ Commencement of this Treaty : but for-
 “ mer Examples, and the late Negotiations
 “ shewing how difficult it was to find means
 “ to accomplish this Work, she had there-
 “ fore not contented herself with such as
 “ were speculative, or depend on Treaties
 “ only, but had insisted on what was solid,
 “ and to have at hand the Power of execu-
 “ ting what should be agreed ; and therefore
 “ she could tell them that *France* was at
 “ last brought to offer, that the Duke of *An-*
 “ *jou* should for himself and his Descendants
 “ renounce for ever all Claim to the Crown
 “ of *France* ; and that this important Article
 “ might

“ might be exposed to no hazard, the Per-
 “ formance was to accompany the Promise,
 “ in regard the Succession to the Crown of
 “ *France* was to be declar’d after the Death
 “ of the present *Dauphin*, and his Sons, to be
 “ in the Duke of *Berry* and his Sons, the
 “ Duke of *Orleans* and his Sons, and so on
 “ to the rest of the House of *Bourbon*.

“ AS to *Spain* and the *Indies*, the Suc-
 “ cession to these Dominions after the Duke
 “ of *Anjou* and his Children, was to descend
 “ to such Prince as should be agreed on at
 “ the Treaty, for ever excluding the rest of the
 “ House of *Bourbon*, all which was offer’d to
 “ be ratify’d in the most Strong and Solemn
 “ Manner both in *France* and *Spain* : and
 “ that these two Crowns, as well as all the
 “ other Powers engaged in the War, should
 “ be Guarantees for the same. That the
 “ Nature of this Stipulation was such, that
 “ it even *executed itself*, because it was the
 “ Interest of *Spain* to support it, and the
 “ Persons to whom the Succession of *France*
 “ should belong, would be ready and pow-
 “ erful enough to vindicate their own Right ;
 “ so that upon this Basis, *France* and *Spain*
 “ would be more effectually divided than
 “ ever, and the Ballance of Power in *Eu-*
 “ *rope* would be fixed, and remain liable to
 “ as few Accidents as Human Affairs could
 “ be exempted from.

“ AS

“ AS to Commerce, she said the Excessive Duties laid on some Goods, and the Prohibition of others, made it impossible to finish that part so soon as was desired ; but that care had been taken to establish a Method of settling that matter, and in the mean time Provision was made that the same Privileges and Advantages should be obtained for *Great Britain*, that *France* should grant to any other Nation. That *France* had consented to yield the whole Island of *St. Christopher*, with all *Hudson's Bay* and *Streights*, and would deliver up the Island of *Newfoundland* with *Placentia*, and would make an absolute Cession of *Annapolis* with the rest of *Nova Scotia* or *Acadia* ; and that the Safety of the Home Trade would be better provided for, by the Demolition of *Dunkirk*. That the *Mediterranean* Trade and the Interest of the *British* Nation in those Parts, would be secured by the Possession of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*, with the whole Island of *Minorca*, which were offered to remain in her hands. That the Trade to *Spain* and the *West-Indies* might in general be settled as it was in the time of the late King *Charles* the Second of *Spain*, with a particular Provision, that all Advantages, which had, or might hereafter be granted to any other Nation by *Spain*, should in like manner be allowed
“ to

“ to the Subjects of *Great Britain*. But
 “ the part the *British* Nation had born in
 “ the Prosecution of the War, having enti-
 “ tled her to some Distinction in the Terms
 “ of Peace, she had insisted and obtained that
 “ the *Affiento*, or Contract for furnishing
 “ the *Spanish West-Indies* with *Negroes*,
 “ should be made for the Term of 30 Years
 “ in the same manner as had been enjoy’d
 “ by the *French* for these 10 Years past.

“ AS to the Interest of the Confederates,
 “ the Queen said she had not taken upon
 “ her to determine that, but had left their
 “ Affairs to be adjusted at *Utrecht*, where
 “ her best Endeavours should be employ’d,
 “ as they had hitherto been, to procure every
 “ one of them all just and reasonable satis-
 “ faction; but in the mean while she thought
 “ proper to acquaint them, that *France*
 “ had offer’d to make the *Rhine* the Barrier
 “ of the Empire, to yield *Brisack*, *Fort-*
 “ *Keyl*, and *Landau*, and to raise all For-
 “ tresses both on the other side the *Rhine*,
 “ and in that River.

“ AND as to the Protestant Interest in
 “ *Germany*, there would be on the part of
 “ *France* no Objection made to the resettling
 “ thereof on the foot of the Treaty of *West-*
 “ *phalia*.

“ THAT the *Spanish Netherlands* might
 “ go to his Imperial Majesty, and that the
 “ Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sardinia*, the
 “ Dutchy

“Dutchy of *Milan* and the Places belonging to *Spain* on the Coast of *Tuscany*, these might likewise be yielded to the Emperor; and tho’ there remained no Dispute concerning the Cession of the Kingdom of *Sicily* by the Duke of *Anjou*, yet there was no Disposition made thereof:

“AND as to the Interest of the *States-General* with respect to Commerce, she said their Demands were agreed to, with the Exception only of a few Species of Merchandize; and the Intire Barrier, as demanded by the States in 1709, except two or three Places at most, which she doubted not might be so settled, as to render them perfectly secure against any Enterprize on the part of *France*; which she said was the Foundation of all her Engagements with that Republick.

“AS to the Demands of *Portugal*, as these depended on the Disposition of *Spain*, and that Article having been long in dispute, so it was not yet possible to make any considerable progress therein. But that her Plenipotentiaries would now have an opportunity to assist that Prince in his Pretensions. And those of the King of *Prussia* were such, as she hoped would admit of no difficulty on the part of *France*; and that she would not be wanting to procure all she could for so good an Ally.

“AND

“ AND as to the difference between
 “ the Barrier demanded for the Duke of
 “ *Savoy* in 1709, and the Offers now made
 “ by *France*, that they were very inconsi-
 “ derable: but that Prince having so signal-
 “ ly distinguished himself in the Common
 “ Cause, she was therefore endeavouring to
 “ procure him still farther Advantages.

“ THAT *France* had consented that the
 “ Elector Palatine should continue his pre-
 “ sent Rank among the Electors, and re-
 “ main in possession of the *Upper Palati-*
 “ *nate*. And that the Electoral Dignity
 “ should likewise be acknowledged in the
 “ House of *Hanover*, according to the Ar-
 “ ticles inserted at that Prince's desire: and
 “ that she doubted not of her being able to
 “ secure to the rest of the Allies their se-
 “ veral Demands.”

*It occasions
 Debates in
 the House
 of Peers.*

THO this Speech was looked upon to be
 ambiguous in some things, and exceptiona-
 ble in others, by those who opposed the Mi-
 nistry; yet the Court-Party carried an Address
 of Thanks in the House of Commons, by a
 very great Majority: but it created some
 very hot Debates in the House of Peers,
 particularly concerning the Demolition of
Dunkirk, for which the *French* demanded
 a good Equivalent, even by the Confession
 of some of the Ministers themselves, which
 several Lords insisted to have communicated
 to the Parliament. But this Debate being

OVER-

over-ruled by some Noblemen in the Court-Interest; a Motion was thereupon made, "To return the Queen Thanks for her most Gracious Speech, and for her extraordinary Condescension in communicating to her Parliament the Terms on which a general Peace might be made, and to express the intire Satisfaction of that House in her Majesty's great Care for securing the Protestant Succession in the House of HANOVER, and for steddily pursuing the true Interest of her own Kingdoms, and for endeavouring to procure to her Allies what was due to them by Treaties; and to assure the Queen, that they did entirely rely on her Majesty's Wisdom to finish this great and good Work." The Lords of the opposite Party, when they found they could not make head against so powerful a Stream, only objected against the Words *entirely rely*, which indeed was relying on the Ministry, and therefore they moved that these Words might be added, *viz.* "To pray her Majesty to take such Measures in concert with her Allies, as might induce them to join with her in a mutual Guaranty." But after a Debate, wherein the Lords *Cowper*, *Wharton*, and *Halifax* signalized themselves very much, it was carried against them by a considerable Majority; whereupon the same Lords, who made the other Protest a-

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gainst

gainst the Orders given to the Duke of Ormond entered a very memorable one on this Occasion, and were also join'd by some other Peers, who had not signed the former. Their Reasons were at full length as follows :

*A memorable Pro-
test in that
House.*

“ We think it necessary to have the Security proposed of a general Guaranty, and the rather because we conceive the Terms of Peace that are offeréd, must have proceeded from a separate Negotiation carried on by the Ministers with *France*, without any communication thereof to the principal Allies, particularly the States-General, (as they say in their Letter to her Majesty) whose Interest her Majesty was pleased to declare to this Parliament, *she looked upon as inseparable from her own* : ‘And we conceive this Negotiation to be contrary to those Orders which her Majesty declared to this House in Answer to their Address, that she had given to her Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* to concert with those of her Allies, and the Resolution expressed in her Message *January 17th*; *Of a strict Union, in which she proposed to join with them, in order to obtain a good Peace, and to guarantee and support the same*; as she had before declared in her Speech at the opening of this Session, *That she would unite with them in the strictest Engagements for continuing the Alliance, in order to render the general*
“ *Peace*

“ *Peace secure and lasting*. And contrary
 “ to the eighth Article of the *grand Alliance*,
 “ which expressly obliges the Allies not to
 “ treat unless jointly, and with the com-
 “ mon Advice of the other Parties.

“ AND we conceive that the Refusal of
 “ these Words proposed to be added, may
 “ be look’d on by the Allies, as if this House
 “ approved this Method of transacting with
 “ *France*, which may seem to them to tend
 “ to a separate Peace, of which her Ma-
 “ jesty has declared her dislike; and which
 “ was acknowledged in this House to be
 “ *foolish* and *knaveish*, and would be of
 “ pernicious Consequence to this Kingdom,
 “ by preventing that Guaranty of Peace by
 “ the Allies, which is so absolutely necessary
 “ for their mutual Security, and leave us
 “ exposed to the Power of *France*; there
 “ being little reason to expect their future
 “ Help, after such a gross Breach of Trust.

“ AND we further conceive that such a se-
 “ parate Proceeding may create in the Al-
 “ lies so great a Distrust, as may tempt them
 “ to take the like Measures, and forgive the
 “ *French* opportunity to break that Union,
 “ which has hitherto been so useful to us
 “ and formidable to them; any appearance
 “ whereof must encourage *France* either to
 “ delay the Conclusion of a Peace, or to im-
 “ pose on the Allies in the further Progress
 “ of the Treaty.

N 2

“ A

" A perfect Union among the Allies
 " seems to us to be the more necessary in the
 " present case, because the Foundation on
 " which all the Offers of *France* relating
 " to *Great Britain*, as well as the Allies,
 " are built, *viz.* a *Renunciation of the*
 " *Duke of Anjou to that Kingdom*, is in
 " our opinion so fallacious, that no reason-
 " able Man, much less whole Nations can
 " look on it as any Security. Experience
 " may sufficiently convince us how little
 " we ought to rely on the Renunciation of
 " the House of *Bourbon*, and tho the pre-
 " sent Duke of *Anjou* should happen to
 " think himself bound by his own Act,
 " which his Grandfather did not, yet will
 " his Descendants be at liberty to say, *That*
 " *no Act of his could deprive them of their*
 " *Birthright*; and especially when it is
 " such a Right, as in the Opinion of all
 " *Frenchmen*, ought inevitably to be main-
 " tained by the fundamental Constitution
 " of the Kingdom of *France*.

" AND we humbly think it unsafe to de-
 " pend upon this principal Part of the Trea-
 " ty's *executing its self*, by supposing it
 " will be the Interest of *France* to support
 " it; since on the contrary it is manifest by
 " the *French Endeavours* ever since the *Py-*
 " *renean Treaty* to unite the Monarchies
 " of *France* and *Spain*, they look on
 " that Union to be their greatest Interest,
 " and

“ and the most effectual Means of establishing the Universal Monarchy in the House of *Bourbon*.

“ AND if it were reasonable to imagine that the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* should remain in distant Branches of the House of *Bourbon*; yet this is contrary to the Grand Alliance it self, which recites the Usurpation of the *Spanish* Monarchy by the *French* King for the Duke of *Anjou*, as the principal Cause of this War.

“ AS to *Port-mahon*, *Gibraltar*, the *Asiento*, and other Advantages to *Britain* proposed by *France*, besides that they are all precarious, and in the power of *France* and *Spain* to take from us when they please; considering the Scituation of those Kingdoms, and the vast Wealth and Strength which will be left to them; we conceive it impossible for any Man to look on these as a Compensation to *Britain* in any degree for the leaving *Spain* and the *Indies* in the Possession of the House of *Bourbon*, besides other manifestly fatal Consequences must be extremely prejudicial to our Woollen Manufacture, if it does not entirely ruin it.

“ AS to the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, tho we own it will be a great safety to our Home-Trade, yet we have reason to apprehend by what was said in the Debate, that it is not yet agreed to be demolish'd

“ without an Equivalent for it to the *French*
 “ King’s satisfaction; and in all the Particu-
 “ lars relating to the Allies, tho they are
 “ not perfectly adjusted, yet by what does
 “ appear concerning them, the Allies are
 “ likely to be left in such a State of Insecu-
 “ rity, as is absolutely inconsistent with our
 “ own safety. The *Rhine* is propos’d for
 “ a Barrier for the Empire, which leaves
 “ *Strasbourg* and *Huningen* in the hands
 “ of the *French*, the former of which has
 “ always been look’d on as the Key of the
 “ Empire.

“ THE Proposals of *France* relating to
 “ the Barrier to the States-General, not
 “ only deprive them of all the Places taken
 “ since the Year 1709; but also of two or
 “ three Places more included in the De-
 “ mands made by the States in that Year,
 “ which will render their Barrier wholly in-
 “ sufficient, and consequently very much
 “ weaken the Security of *Britain*.

“ *PORTUGAL* seems to be wholly
 “ abandoned to the Power of *Spain*, not with-
 “ standing the great Advantage we have re-
 “ ceived during this War by our Trade with
 “ that Kingdom, which might still be ex-
 “ tremely beneficial to us.

“ UPON the whole, there is so very
 “ little and inconsiderable a Difference be-
 “ tween these Offers of *France*, and those
 “ made at *Utrecht*, February 4th N. S. and
 “ signed

“ signed *Huxelles*, (as appears to us upon
 “ comparing them together,) that both
 “ seem to be the Effect of a secret and
 “ particular Negotiation with *France* ;
 “ and this House having unanimously con-
 “ curred in expressing to her Majesty their
 “ utmost Resentment at those Terms offer’d
 “ to her Majesty and her Allies by the Ple-
 “ nipotentiaries of *France*, and her Maje-
 “ sty having graciously accepted that our
 “ Address, and rewarded that Duty and
 “ Zeal with her hearty Thanks, we cannot
 “ in respect to her Majesty or Justice to our
 “ Country, retract that Opinion, nor think
 “ the Terms now good for us or the Allies,
 “ or give any seeming Approbation of them,
 “ which then were received by this House
 “ and all the Allies with Scorn and Detec-
 “ tion.

“ FOR these Reasons we are of Opinion
 “ that the Offers of *France* are fallacious
 “ and insnaring, no way proportioned to the
 “ Advantages, which her Majesty (from the
 “ great Successes with which it has pleased
 “ God to bless her and her Allies, du-
 “ ring the whole course of this War,) might
 “ justly expect for her own Kingdoms and
 “ for them ; very insufficient for preserving
 “ a Ballance of Power in *Europe*, for the
 “ future Security of her Majesty and her
 “ Allies, tho they should be never so exactly
 “ performed ; and yet even such as they are,

“ there is no effectual Security offered for
 “ the Performance of them ; which makes
 “ it absolutely necessary, as we conceive, that
 “ such Measures should be taken in concert
 “ with the Allies, as may induce them to
 “ join with her Majesty in a mutual Guaranty,

*The Lords
 Protest ex-
 pung'd out
 of the
 Books,*

THESE were the Reasons which the above mentioned Lords gave against the Terms of Peace recited in her Majesty's Speech ; which so much exposed the Ministry, that their Friends ordered them to be expunged out of the Books of the House ; but being soon after printed with the other concerning the Duke's Orders of Restraint, this so much incensed the Courtiers, that they procured a Committee of the Lords to enquire after the Publication of this and the other Protest : but not being able to make any Discovery, or rather not being very willing to do it, they apply'd by Address to the Queen, and obtained an Order of Council for finding out the Printers and Publishers thereof ; which was nothing but an empty Noise, as appeared afterwards, and the great Bustle made about it, was more to prepossess the Nation against the Sentiments of the opposite Party, than out of any real Desire of a Discovery.

ABOUT the same time there was a no less struggle in the House of Commons concerning this new-modelled Scheme of Peace ; for tho' that House voted an
 Address

Address of Thanks to the Queen, as has been taken notice, yet some were unwilling to let the Matter pass so: and therefore they proposed the Allies should become Guarantees for the Protestant Succession, in the House of *Hanover*; and in order thereunto, *Mr. Hambden* made a Motion for an Address. Endeavours were first made to have that Motion dropped, but *Mr. Hambden*, and some others insisting strenuously to have the Question put, the same was done accordingly; but it was carried in the Negative, by a Majority of a Hundred and thirty-three Voices, against Thirty-eight. And the House had no other way to vindicate themselves in this Vote, but by representing those who promoted it, as factious Persons, who made it their business to create Jealousies of the Queen, in the Minds of the People, and therefore they procured this strange Resolve to incense their Party against them, and to put them out of all Favour with the Queen, *viz.* “ That the House had so great Confidence in her Majesty’s repeated Declarations, for securing the Protestant Succession, as established on the House of *Hanover*, that they could never doubt of her taking the proper Measures for the Security thereof, and that they would support her Majesty against Faction at home, and her Enemies abroad. And they humbly beseeched the Queen, that

A Guaranty proposed for the Succession in the House of Hanover

It is mov'd by another Resolve.

“ she

“ she would be pleased to discountenance
 “ all those who should endeavour to raise
 “ Jealousies between her and her Subjects,
 “ especially by misrepresenting her good
 “ Intentions, for the Good of her People.”

*The Lord
 Boling-
 broke sent
 over to
 France.*

THE Ministry finding by these Trials, made in both Houses, that they might now safely go on with their Designs, thought of nothing but to hasten on the Peace at all hazards; and in order thereunto, Mr. *St. John*, whom the Queen had now created Viscount *Bolingbroke*, was sent over to the Court of *France*, who it seems had full Power to agree to a Cessation of Arms; notwithstanding all the Remonstrances had been made in both Houses, against secret and separate Negotiations: for, upon this, the Duke of

*A Cessation
 of Arms
 between
 England
 and
 France.*

Ormond had orders sent him to publish a Cessation of Arms, tho' the Siege of *Quesnoy* was not yet ended; and not only to withdraw the *British* Troops from the Allies, but the Foreigners in the Pay of *Britain*. It is easy to imagine the great Confusion the Allies were brought into by this extraordinary Treatment. However, Prince *Eugene* and the States Field-Deputies pressed the Duke earnestly to suspend the Execution of his Orders, till they had acquainted their several Courts with them, but this it seems could not be done. Nevertheless the Foreign Generals in the Service of *Britain*, chose rather to run the hazard of losing their Pay,

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than

than abandon the Common Cause, so that the Allies made themselves Masters of *Quesnoy*; and the Duke was forced to take his leave of the Army without any other Foreigners to accompany him, except two or three Battalions of *Holsteiners*, and the *Leigois* Regiment of Dragoons of *Wales*, whose Pay as Major-General in the *Dutch* Service was presently struck off. It was at that time given out that the Duke was to march into the *French* Territories, to quarter in the *Chattelany* of *Tpres*; and if it had been so, perhaps the other Allies might also have been brought to consent to a Cessation, as it might in some measure have secured them in the Conquests they had already made; but whatever might be proposed, it is probable the *French* had no such Intention. For the Duke, upon leaving the Confederates, directed his March for *Ghent*, where he was not very well received, neither would the *Dutch* suffer him to enter any of their Garrisons as he passed by.

THE other Allies continued still in their Resolution to go on with the War, but the *British* Troops leaving them after they had proceeded so far, quite broke all their Measures, and brought them into great jeopardy. They invested *Landrecy* soon after, but their Army was now in so dangerous a Situation, that they lost a very considerable Number, especially of the *Dutch*, who were

*It proves
fatal to the
Confeder-
ates.*

were cut off near *Denain*, before Prince *Eugene* could come to their Relief. After this, the *French* made themselves Masters of *Mortagne*, *St. Amand*, *Marchienne* and other Places; and becoming also by this means Masters of the *Scharpe*, they seized the great Magazines that were laid up for the Confederate Army. This proved so great a loss to the Confederates, that they were not able to oppose the *French* in any thing during the Campaign; for the *French* also retook *Dorway*, *Bouchain*, and some other places of less Note: and while these things were transacting in the Field, between the *French* and the Allies, the Suspension Treaty between *Britain* and *France* was prolonged, and matters were so managed by the Lord *Bolingbroke*, who was all this time at the Court of *France*; that upon the Conclusion of this Treaty, a Body of *English* Soldiers were admitted into *Dunkirk*, which had a good outside Appearance, with respect to what was promised concerning its Demolition; and indeed, if this had not been procured upon the Duke of *Ormond's* withdrawing from the Allies, all the Projects of our Ministers might have soon fallen to the ground, and the *French* been reduced to the same Circumstances they were in before these Negotiations were set on foot.

IN the mean while, Orders were sent to Brigadier *Price*, who commanded the *British*

Irish Troops in *Spain*, to declare a Cessation of Arms for four Months. But the way taken to convey these Orders to the Brigadier's hands was very extraordinary, and discover'd yet more of the underhand dealings between the Courts of *Britain* and *France*. Some days before came a Trumpeter from the Enemy to Field-Marshal *Staremburg's* Quarters with a Letter to reclaim certain Prisoners, having some other Messages of small Consequence; but being ask'd whether he had more Letters about him, he own'd that he was intrusted with another Letter, which being demanded of him was found directed to the commanding Officer of the *British* Forces. The Trumpeter was severely threatned for bringing Letters for any other than the Commander in chief, to whom alone, according to the Rules of War, Letters ought to be directed, and by him only opened; whereupon *Staremburg* sent back the Letter to Prince *Tserclaes de Tilly*, who commanded the *French* and *Spaniards*, and from whom it came, and wrote to him, " That he thought
" a General should be better acquainted
" with the Laws and Customs of War, than
" to act in such a manner; and if the like
" was done again, he might depend upon it
" the Bearer should be hang'd." The Prince returned a very civil Answer; but two days after he made use of another Artifice: he caused a subaltern Officer of an *Irish* Regiment

ment to act the Part of a Deserter, by whom he sent a second Letter, ordering him to conceal it carefully, and to deliver it to none but the *English* Brigadier himself, which he did. The Letter was to inform the Brigadier that he had an Order for him from the *British* Court, desiring him to consider how he might get it safely. The Brigadier called a Council of the chief of the *English* Officers, who gave it as their opinion, that it was necessary to acquaint the General with it, being against the Rules of War, and very dangerous to receive Letters from the Enemy without communicating them to the Commander in chief: and *Staremberg*, when he was informed of the matter, said the Brigadier might send a Drummer to bring the Order, which accordingly was done. At the same time *Staremberg* sent an Account of the whole Affair to the Empress, who had not yet left *Barcelona*, and was much surprized that such an Order should be conveyed privately and even by the Enemy, while the *British* Minister, who resided with her, had not so much as mentioned it to her. Brigadier *Price* also went to *Barcelona* to confer with Admiral *Jennings*, who commanded the Fleet, and upon his return back again to the Army, he march'd his Troops towards the Sea-Coast, from whence they were transported to *Port-Mahon*.

AFTER

AFTER this the Allies had no further Hopes of Assistance from the Queen of *Great Britain*, for the Lord *Bolingbroke* was all this time in *France* negotiating matters privately at that Court, where he seem'd resolved to provide himself an *Asylum* in case of a Change at home, by obliging the *French* in all things to the utmost of his power. But the Court of *France* having by these underhand dealings broken that Chain, which had kept the Allies united, and even in the strongest part of it, by dividing the two Maritime Powers, this made others begin to think before it was too late how they might best secure themselves : and first of all, the King of *Portugal*, when he saw how things went, and that he was in a manner altogether abandoned by the Queen of *Great Britain*, and considering the Hazard of his being swallowed up by the united Power of *France* and *Spain*, judged it his safest way also to declare a Suspension of Hostilities. And the Duke of *Savoy* being in the like Circumstances, tho he did not so soon enter into a formal Treaty as the other, yet he was afraid to act any thing against an Enemy, who had in a manner got the Reins of *Europe* wholly into his hands, so that the War was also brought to a stand in *Italy*. And any one may easily imagine how the Empire and *Holland* were situated in the midst of all these unhappy Conjunctions ; but

but especially after the vast loss they had sustained this Year in the Field.

The Ministry put the best Colour on their own Conduct.

THIS being the unhappy State of Affairs among the Confederates abroad; the Ministry at home made it their whole Business to put the best colour on their own management of things, that the Nation might not be alarmed, and from the ill State of the Confederates, portend new Dangers to *Britain*, which indeed many did; and therefore themselves and their Agents were very busy, insinuating into People's Minds that the Design of the Grand Alliance being to restore the Kingdom of *Spain* to the House of *Austria*, and the chief Motive to this Restitution of the *Spanish* Monarchy being to preserve a Ballance of Power in *Europe* by preventing *France* and *Spain* from being united under one crown'd Head, they had established the said Ballance on a much surer footing than if the Monarchy of *Spain* had been given to the House of *Austria*, and that was by obliging the King of *Spain* to make an absolute Cession of his Right to the Kingdom of *France*, to go to the other Branches of the *Bourbon* Family, who were all to make the like Cession and Renunciation of their Right and Title to the Crown of *Spain*; and we were told that the Instruments were all drawn up and ready to be executed, which they had at last obtained with much difficulty. But this being nothing more than what the

the Queen mentioned in her Speech, to which, a number of the Peers had remonstrated, it gave no manner of satisfaction to the opposite Party, who looked on a separate Peace with *France* to be altogether dangerous, because our Principal Ally the *Dutch*, were like to be disappointed in their Barrier, the Empire and the Countries of *Savoy* and *Piedmont* like to be expos'd to the continual Insults of *France*, and the King of *Portugal* to the united Power of *France* and *Spain*; all which had the worse Aspect, that no right Guaranty could be obtain'd to bind the *French* King, and his Grandson, to the fulfilling their Engagements without the concurrence of the Allies, whom the *British* Ministers had abandoned by their carrying on separate Measures with the Enemy. But the Succession of the present Emperor after the Death of his Brother *Joseph*, above all things enabled the Ministry to consent to this Disposition of the Crown of *Spain* in the Person of *Philip*: because many who at the same time they dislik'd separate Negotiations, were however not very fond of an Union between *Spain* and the Empire, there being no other Male Issue left of the *Austrian* Line, Several things contribute to forward their Designs. besides the said *Charles*. And it was still the more easy for the Ministry to proceed in this manner, that the Emperor insisted obstinately to have the Monarchy of *Spain* restored to him, which perhaps few of the other

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Allies would have consented to, had they continued united in all their Measures. And this being the case, our Ministers caused a Copy of the Instrument of King *Philip's* Renunciation to be published, and the said Prince was advis'd to execute the same in the most publick and solemn manner before the Lord *Lexington*, who was sent to *Spain* on purpose as Ambassador from the Queen of *Great Britain*, and before the chief of the *Spanish* Grandees and the *Cortez* or States of the Kingdom, who were likewise called together on this extraordinary Occasion ; to whom he declared, " That in regard of the
 " Efforts they had made to secure his Crown
 " on two perilous Occasions, when it was
 " tottering, he therefore out of Gratitude
 " to procure Peace for his People, and
 " that he might never be separated from
 " them, had for himself and his Posterity
 " renounc'd all Claim to the Crown of
 " *France*." Several other Declarations of King *Philip* were also publish'd about the same time, and particularly one, wherein he expressed a great deal of Love to the *Spanish* Nation, *viz.* " That he would not exchange
 " that Kingdom for *France*, if it was left
 " to his Option, and that he acknowledged
 " he had every thing that any Man could
 " enjoy in being Sovereign of so many Dominions, but especially that he look'd on
 " it as his greatest Happiness, that Providence
 " had

“ had placed him over so deserving a People.” And on the other hand, we had Instances of the great Loyalty of the *Spaniards* towards his Person and Government, and tho none were wont to be more zealous than the *Spaniards* to prevent a Coalition of the two Monarchies, yet it was given out that they had unanimously acknowledg’d themselves satisfy’d with the King, and could firmly rely on his Gracious Declaration.

THE Court-Party at home without much difficulty perswaded themselves into a belief of all these things, and into a good Opinion of this Disposition of the *Spanish* Monarchy. A great deal of pains was also taken, to make others believe it would be much better than if that Crown had been dispos’d any other Way; but the manner of carrying on this Affair rendered the whole very much suspected, it being evident beyond contradiction, that the Queen had concluded all things with *France* without the Participation of any of her Allies, tho no Publick Declaration thereof was made by her Ministers, who were not a little apprehensive lest they should disgust some of their own Party, if they should utterly abandon the *Dutch*, who would come into no Terms until they were secured in their Barrier, *The Dutch stand out upon their Barrier.* which all thinking Men judg’d to be highly reasonable, not only for the Safety of their State, but of all *Europe*: and therefore our

Ministers procured some Alterations to be made in that Part of the Plan, which related to the said Barrier and the Barrier of the Empire, which was so essential a Point, that the Court of *France* was forced to consent to these Demands. After which the Earl of *Strafford* proposed to the States that they should have all their own Ministers demanded in the Year 1709, except *Lisle*, *Maubeuge*, and *Conde*, and the Tariff of the Year 1664, except for four Species of Merchandizes. That the Queen would make another Treaty for securing their Barrier, and the States on their part should continue to take on them to be Guarantees of the Succession of the Crown of *Great Britain* in the Protestant Line of *Hanover*, as in the Treaty of Barrier already concluded with them. There was, besides these, another Article relating to the King of *Prussia's* Interest in *Guelder*, besides some few Proposals, which the *Dutch* did not altogether relish; however, the Assurances of a mutual Treaty of Guaranty were very acceptable to them, who weighing things according to their usual Prudence, judg'd it better to come into the Measures of Peace after this point gain'd, than to stand out against the united Power of *France* and *Spain*; and being no doubt in hopes that some more favourable Opportunity might offer hereafter of redressing their present Greivances, they thought it their Interest for the present to

write

write a Letter to the Queen, wherein they acquainted her with their Inclinations of concluding and signing a Peace jointly with her. And tho in this Letter they took the liberty to make some Observations on this new Plan, yet they did all this with abundance of Respect and Deference, shewing ^{They write} themselves ready to submit to her Majesty's ^{to the} Wisdom, and offering with all Chearfulness to put their whole Interest and Confidence in her. ^{Queen.}

THIS Letter from the States-General was sent over about the latter end of *December*, when it was the proper time for them to determine fully what they were to do, and it was so acceptable to the Queen and her Ministers, that on the seventh of *January* following, an Answer was return'd by an express, wherein the Queen declared her sincere Affection for their State, tho not without some Insinuations against her late Ministry, and those who adhered to them, as if they were ^{The} the only Persons, who had endeavoured to ^{Queen's} divide her Interests from theirs. However, she promis'd her Endeavours at this critical Juncture to knit faster (if possible) the Ties of this Union. And as she had ever in her Eye the Example and wise Conduct of that great Queen her Predecessor, who contributed so much to the support of their Commonwealth, when their brave Ancestors laid the first Foundation of it; so they might be

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persuaded she looked upon it as one of the greatest Glories of her Reign, that she had not only imitated, but even surpassed whatever that Queen had done, for the Establishment of their State, and the Encrease of their Power.

THE Union and good Understanding between *Great Britain* and *Holland*, was so manifestly essential to the Civil and Religious Interests of both Nations, that in all Publick Transactions the Queen and her Ministry could never omit acknowledging the same, even when there was the greatest real Discord, as appeared manifest from her several Declarations and Speeches from the Throne; but this Declaration in a particular manner justify'd the Measures of the late Ministry, who were all along careful in maintaining this Union, at the same time it was a kind of Self-condemnation of the

The Ministry expose themselves by it.

Queen's present Ministers, who had given all manner of Countenance to those who were for dissolving the same. As for the States-General, tho they were not insensible that in these Assurances of the Queen, her Ministry seem'd to act contrary to their own Maxims, yet they took all without any Observation; and as the Queen had also in the same Letter recommended to them the settling of the Barrier Treaty, which had already been some time in Agitation, they applied themselves with so much earnestness, that all Differences relating thereunto, were soon

soon accommodated ; so that it was happily concluded, and sign'd by the Plenipotentiaries of both Nations.

IN the mean time, the King of *Prussia* having obtain'd most of his Demands, his Minister signify'd his Master's Inclinations of concluding a Peace, whenever the Queen should think fit to finish her own ; and the *British* Plenipotentiaries having been very strenuous in the Duke of *Savoy's* Interest, to procure for him the Kingdom of *Sicily*, the Ministers of that Prince had Instructions to return thanks to the said Plenipotentiaries for the great Care they had taken of their Master's Interest, tho it was impossible for him to maintain it without a Guaranty, in regard the Emperor and King of *Spain* had both of them an eye to it as their Right. About the same time the Treaty with *Portugal* was also finish'd ; but the Emperor continued still obstinate in his Demands for the Restitution of *Spain* and the *Indies*, and for that Reason he made vigorous Preparations for another Campaign, tho none of the Allies were so studious of his Interest, as to run any hazard themselves for it ; and therefore he was obliged to stand wholly on his own bottom, having neither Ally nor Confederate to join with him, except some Princes of the Empire, who were obliged to be on their own Defence. However this total neglect of the Emperor's Interest was very

What the
true Inter-
est of Bri-
tain at this
time.

much blamed, because of the Protestants, who are pretty numerous in the Empire: for which reason many were of Opinion, that the Allies should not have concluded their Peace until they had at least provided the Empire with a sufficient Barrier, and in requital to have obtained good Terms for the Protestants in *Germany*; all which might have been done, had things been rightly managed in the Field, and that no separate Measures had been carry'd on with the Enemy. For it was the undoubted Interest of *Britain*, in the first place to have got the Power out of the hands of *France*, and being in conjunct Possession of most of the Barrier Places with the *Dutch*, these two Nations might have made their own Terms afterwards for the Protestants. But our Ministers were so far from taking these Matters into their Consideration, that it seems they thought but little about them, the Protestant Interest being not so much as mentioned in the Preliminaries, on which they treated; and we find all the Queen declared to the Parliament concerning it, when every thing else was in a manner concluded and agreed, "That *France* would make no " Objection against resettling it on the foot " of the Treaty of *Westphalia*." So that when the *Dutch* and other Protestant Ministers came to insist on having the fourth Article of the Treaty of *Reswick* altered,

viz.

viz. the Treaty between *France* and the Empire, wherein was stipulated, " That " the *Roman* Catholick Religion should " continue, as it was then exercised in Ger- " many : " The *French* Ministers made Answer, that it belong'd to the Emperor and the Empire to redress those Grievances : but that Prince being disgusted, little could be expected from him ; and the other Allies of *Britain*, who were *Roman* Catholicks, finding the Protestants had lost so much ground by the ill management of the Queen's Ministers, began to condemn this Nation now as much as they were wont at other times to court her Favour. As for the *French* King, notwithstanding the great Obligations he lay under to the Queen, but more especially to her Ministers, all that the *British* Plenipotentiaries and the other Protestant Ministers could obtain of him, was the releasing a very small number of his own Protestant Subjects from the Gallies, with a Promise that when he came to treat with the Emperor, he would out of Friendship for the Queen endeavour to procure that all things relating to Religion should be establish'd on the foot of the Treaty of *Westphalia*.

THE *British* Plenipotentiaries having now their full Instructions to sign their Treaties with *France*, obtained of the *French* King to admit by his Letters Patents the King of *Spain's* Renunciation of that Crown, and the

the Renunciations of the Dukes of *Berry* and *Orleans* of the Crown of *Spain*, after which they urg'd the Ministers of the other Allies very much to bring all their Affairs to a conclusion; for they were impatient lest any Accident should happen to hinder it, not only by reason of the great Opposition it met with in *England*, but because none of the Allies were fully satisfy'd with their Conditions, if better could have been procured for them. And therefore on the fourth of *April*, the Queen's Plenipotentiaries signed their Treaties of Peace and Commerce with *France*, at the Bishop of *Bristol's* House about two in the Afternoon, and the Ministers of *Savoy*, *Portugal*, *Prussia*, and the States-General sign'd theirs also at the same meeting, which continued sitting till near four next Morning; the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries having several important Matters to adjust relating to their Barrier, which they were not willing to leave unfinished.

The Peace concluded.

THUS were all the principal Matters concluded at *Utrecht*, tho no ways to the satisfaction of great numbers here in *England*, who when the Conditions stipulated in these Treaties came to be known, found great fault with them, and in particular it was taken notice, that the Treaty between *England* and *France* was not very much different from the Treaty of *Reswick*, only that it was judg'd to be more defective in some things.

things. The chief Advantages gain'd by this Treaty, were such as the Queen and her Ministers could not avoid, if their Inclinations had stood another way, *viz.* to have the *French* King acknowledge the Succession in the Protestant Line of *Hanover*, and to consent to the Demolition of *Dunkirk*. As to the first, the *French* King if he had liv'd, might have perhaps kept his Engagements as he did to King *William*, whose Title he acknowledged in the Treaty of *Reswick*, and soon after permitted the Pretender to be proclaimed King of *Great Britain* at *St. Germain's*. As to the latter, it was agreed that the Fortifications of that City should be razed, the Harbour fill'd up, and the Sluices, which served to cleanse the Harbours, to be level'd at the King's own expence within the space of 5 Months; *viz.* The Fortifications towards the Sea within the space of two Months, and those towards the Land with the Banks within three Months, on this express Condition, that they should never be repair'd: but the said Demolition was not to be begun till every thing was put into the *French* King's hands, which was to be given him as an Equivalent for the same. But in what manner the Court of *France* bubbli'd our Ministers in this Article, will be shewn hereafter.

BY the Treaty of *Reswick*, Restitution was made of all the Places in *Hudson's Bay* and

*The Terms
of Peace
between
Great Bri-
tain and
France.*

and the Island of *Newfoundland*, which had been taken on either side during the War. But by this Treaty, *Hudson's Bay* and *Streights*, with all the Lands, Coasts, Seas, and Rivers, Houses, Forts, &c. were to be yielded for ever to *Great Britain*, with the Cannon and a quantity of Ammunition proportionable to the Cannon-Ball that should be found in these Forts. And Commissaries were to be appointed on both sides to regulate the Limits between *Hudson's Bay* and the Places belonging to the *French*, and the King was to cause satisfaction to be given to the *Hudson's Bay Company* for the Damages they had sustained since a Cessation of Hostilities was proclaimed. On the other hand, the Queen was also to cause satisfaction to be given for the Damages the *French* had sustained at *Monserrat*, and some other Grievances whereof the *French* complain'd, relating to the Capitulation in the Island of *Nevis* and the Castle of *Gambia*, &c. *Great Britain* was to have possession of *Nova Scotia* with its antient Boundaries, the Seas, and all other things belonging thereunto, as also all *Newfoundland* with the adjacent Islands; but the *French* were to have Liberty to erect Huts and Stages, and such other things as might be useful for the drying of Fish, on that Part which stretched all along from Cape *Bonavista* from the Northern Point of the said Island, and from thence running
down

down by the West Side, as far as the place called *Point Riche*; and besides this Privilege, the Island called *Cape Breton*, and all others in the Mouth of *St. Laurence* River and Bay of that Name, were hereafter to belong to the *French*, with full Liberty to raise Fortifications in the said Islands and Places.

THESE were the principal Matters concluded in the Treaty of Peace between this Nation and *France*, which upon first View had a tolerable good outside Appearance, particularly, that all *Hudson's Bay*, with the *Streights* in the North-west Passage; were to be yielded up to *Great Britain*, some of these Places being then in the hands of the *French*; but when People began to consider that they had Liberty to erect Huts in these Places, and to do every thing else for carrying on their fishing Trade, and that *Cape Breton* was made over to *France* with leave ^{They cause great Un-} to raise Fortifications there and in the other ^{easy.} Islands in the Mouth of *St. Laurence* River, it created no small Uneasiness, because the *French*, by having possession of *Cape Breton* and the other Places abovementioned, would be enabled to make themselves Masters of all the Trade in those Parts, in case a fresh Rupture should happen between the two Nations.

BUT to make this go down the more smoothly with the Court-Party, some of whom

*The Care
of the Pro-
testant Re-
ligion left
on the
French
King.*

whom were also not a little startl'd at these Stipulations, the Ministry and their Agents gave out, that for the Security of the Trade of the Nation, the *Spaniards* had consented to give up *Gibraltar*, *Port-Mahen*, with the whole Island of *Minorca*, to be garison'd by *English* Soldiers. And to satisfy those, who had a Concern for the Protestant Interest, they boasted that they had obtained by the 21st Article of this Treaty, That his most Christian Majesty should procure the Settlement of Religion in *Germany* according to the Treaty of *Westphalia*; as his Ministers had promised to the Queen's Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*; which however was looked on to be very absurd in our Ministers, to leave the Care of the Protestant Religion upon the *French* King, who had driven all his own Protestant Subjects out of his Dominions, and had himself alter'd the State of Religion in all the Places which he had conquer'd; and therefore that any thing to the contrary would be contradicting all his former and present Maxims, which were suited to gratify the Court of *Rome* and the Bigots of *Spain*, that they might continue stedfast in his Grandson's Interest. Neither was the Article relating to *Dunkirk* much regarded, because the *French* King had consented to demolish it at his own Expence in the Year 1709, without demanding any Equivalent for it; but by this Treaty the City of *Lisle* and

and some other important Places in the *Netherlands*, were to be restored before any thing relating to the said Demolition was to be begun : so that there was no other Security for the *French* King's performing these Stipulations but his *Bona Fide*, which was worn threadbare and ridiculed and laugh'd at by all Nations after so many Infractions of Treaties.

BUT when the Treaty of Commerce with *France* came to be known, it brought the Nation into a new Ferment ; there being some things in that Treaty judg'd very detrimental to the Trade of this Nation ; particularly the eighth and ninth Articles thereof: for in other Respects it was much the same with our former Engagements with that Nation, so that we shall not repeat the other Parts of it. Now it was provided by the eighth Article of this new Treaty of Commerce, that the Subjects of both Nations should trade on an equal footing, and by the ninth, that the Tariff of 1664 should not take place till 2 Months after a Law should pass in *Great Britain* to reduce the Duties on all *French* Commodities to an equality, for what was usually paid for Goods of the like nature, imported from any other Country of *Europe*. But it was the Opinion of our Merchants, and those who best understood Trade, that this would have quite destroy'd our Trade to *Spain* and *Portugal*, because

The Nation alarm'd at the Treaty of Commerce with France.

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neither

neither of these two Nations could receive the Commodities of *Britain*, but in exchange for their Wines; and the Duties payable in *France* on the *British* Commodities, especially for Fish, Sugar, and woollen Manufactures of all Sorts, which generally go off in *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Italy*, were to continue so high, that there was no likelihood of vending them in *France*, but at a very great loss; whereas there was no prohibition on the *English* Wool, nor upon dying Drugs, or any thing else that could promote the Manufacturing of Cloaths in *France*.

THE lowering the Duties on *French* Wines imported to *Britain* to the same Rates of Wines from other Countries, would have met with no small Encouragement, because the Contiguity of *England* and *France* would have made the *French* Wines come much cheaper than those of any other Country; and the agreeable Taste and Flavour of the *French* Wines, would have been such an Encouragement to the importation of them, that few or none of any other kind would have been brought into the Kingdom. And as the Nation by this means would have stood in no need of the *Portuguese* and *Spanish* Wines, the Proprietors of the Wool must have sold that Commodity to *France*, since there would have been but little Encouragement to use it at home.

home. And such vast Quantities of Brandy must have also been imported, as would have quite ruined the advantageous distilling of Malt, Molosses, and some other things, which if it was not for the distilling Trade would be altogether useless.

THE Fish which the *British* Merchants bring every Year in great Quantities from *Newfoundland*, and other Parts of *North-America*, could not have gone off in *Spain* and *Portugal* for the same Reason, *viz.* because *Great Britain* could not take any Quantity of their Wines in Exchange. Neither could they have been sold in *France*, not only by reason of the high Duties laid on most kinds of Fish imported into *France*, but also as the *French* had now the liberty of catching as many Fish as they pleased, and of curing them in the most commodious Places of the *British* Plantations: so this Branch of the *British* Trade, notwithstanding it had brought such vast Riches into the Kingdom, must in a manner have been quite lost to *Britain*, since the exchanging these Commodities, as well as the Native Manufactures of this Kingdom, for Wines, was the greatest Encouragement to the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, not only to deal with *Britain* in those things, but also to the *Italians*, and other Nations, which supply *Britain* both with their Wines, Oil, Fruits, and raw Silks, which of late Years have

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very much promoted the Manufactures of this Kingdom.

THIS our Merchants judg'd, must have been an unspeakable loss, seeing the Trade of *Great Britain* for Wines, was so acceptable to the *Portuguese* and other distant Nations, that in the Ballance of so great a Trade, vast Sums of Money in Specie were every Year returned into *Britain*; whereas, if the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* had been forced to pay Money for the same Commodities, which they were accustomed to have in exchange for theirs, which must have happen'd, had this Treaty taken effect, they would have received few or none of them from *Britain*, because they would have had them much cheaper from *France*. And as this must have also been a loss to the *Portuguese* in regard the *French* stand in no need of their Wines; therefore the *French*, that they might make the Ballance of Trade more easy to *Portugal*, and more advantageous to themselves, were going to enter into a Treaty with *Portugal*, to take off their Sugars and dying Drugs: and to favour this, they had continued the high Duty on *English* Sugars, and other Commodities of *Great Britain*.

UPON the whole, this Treaty was thought to be very pernicious to the Nation, as it would have ruined her Factories, at the same time that it must have encouraged those
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of *France*, whereby *Marseilles* and other Cities on the *Mediterranean* Coast of *France*, by reason of their commodious Scituation, would have imported from *Italy*, Oil in abundance for their woollen Manufactures; and as they could have also supply'd these Countries with Fish after that Trade had been lost to *Great Britain*, they would by that means have ingrossed to themselves all their raw Silks, and might in all probability have carried from this Nation their *Turkey* and *Levant* Trade; and the Artificers of the same things in *Britain*, must have been reduced to Beggary, become a Burden to the Publick, and the whole Nation impoverished, by being deprived of the most valuable Branches of her Trade. But besides, such a Treaty would have ruined the Navigation of this Kingdom. For the Maritime Power of *France* was but of small account, (even so late as the Siege of *Rochelle*) until they found a way into the North Parts of *America*; but after they had by the Negligence and ill Management of some of our Great Men during the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, made themselves Masters of some large Territories and Settlements there; their Power at Sea increased to a very amazing degree, in so much, that they have since then, thrice essay'd to dispute the Masterhip of the Seas with the combined Fleets of *Great Britain*

and *Holland*. But if this Treaty had taken place, they might have soon been enabled to engross the whole fishing Trade, which has been so beneficial to *Britain*, and the Subjects of this Kingdom settled in the North Parts of *America*, must have only become Servants to them: and the Ships of Burden, which employ so many hands in their Voyages from hence to *Newfoundland*, and from thence to *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, and the *Levant*, which at the same time they bring home great Riches to *Britain*, and are also a constant Nursery for Seamen, to supply the Royal Navy upon every Emergency, must have been laid up for want of Employment, while the Trade between *Great Britain* and *France* would have been carried on with Barks and other Vessels of the smallest Burden.

*The New
Treaties
laid before
the House
of Com-
mons.*

THE Affairs of Commerce being settled under all these apparent Disadvantages, employed most Peoples Thoughts; and so much was objected against this Treaty by those, who had got Intimation of the Conditions of it, that the Queen could not help laying it and the other Treaties before the House of Commons, tho it was delayed till towards the latter end of the Session, when the Members are generally in a hurry to dispatch Business, that they may go into the Country. And a Motion being made for a Bill to make
good

good the eighth and ninth Articles of the Treaty of Commerce, which were the most obnoxious to the Trading Part of the Nation, and the most found fault with by some of the Members, it was carried by a very great Majority, notwithstanding many excellent Speeches were made to shew the ill Consequences that must attend this Bill if it should pass: but the Members, who voted for this Bill, were most of them unacquainted with the Affairs of Commerce, and some mischievous Engines had very artfully made a Distinction between the Landed and Trading Interest of the Nation, in which they were encouraged by the Ministry; whereby they prepossessed abundance of well-meaning Country Gentlemen, with a very absurd Notion of maintaining a Ballance, that they might not be overpower'd and run down by the money'd Men, and they were taught to believe they had been in great neglect since the Trading Part of the Nation had intrusted so much of their Money in the Publick: which stirred up Envy in the Country Gentlemen, and rendered many of them too careless and indifferent about the publick Credit, and the Trade of the Nation; tho nothing could be of more fatal Consequence, than such a Distinction, seeing the Increase of Riches always increases the Value of Land, which is very manifest in *Holland, Venice*, and other Trading Nations, and was plainly demonstrable

by the late extravagant Rise of the *South-Sea*; which, had the Advantages of it been real, would have doubled the Value of Land in all parts of the Kingdom.

PET before this Bill could pass, Petitions were sent from all the Trading Towns in the Kingdom, and from most of the Trading Companies of the City of *London* against it; and among others, the *East-India* Company had also drawn up a Representation, to shew that the mentioning so often the Manufactures of *Great Britain* in the 9th Article, which were to be sent to *France*, without taking notice of those of Foreign Growth to be imported by *British* Merchants, was an Omission that might prove detrimental to their Trade. But the Commons, to prevent the Clamours that might be rais'd from their petitioning, thought fit, of their own accord, to have that part of the Article more fully explain'd; which in some measure satisfy'd the *East-India* Company. But the Merchants who trade to *Turkey* could not be so easily put off, being very earnest to have their Reasons against this Bill made known to the whole House; some *Turkey* Merchants were therefore called in, and examined, with some others who were concerned in the *Newfoundland* and *Mediterranean* Trade: who made it appear, by many invincible Reasons, that this Treaty would be pernicious to the Trade,

Petitions
against the
Bill of
Commerce.

Trade, and ruin the Manufactures of *Great Britain*. However, the Court-Party endeavoured to extenuate things as much as possible, especially *Mr. Moore*, and some others of the Commissioners of Trade, who probably had been consulted in it, and therefore pleaded still to have it pass with some Amendments. But the opposing Members getting ground of the Court-Party, and having also made themselves more ripe for the Debate by the Light the Merchants had given them, insisted strenuously that it might be rejected. And General *Stanhope* in particular took notice of the great Loss the Nation had sustain'd by the favour had been shewn to *France* in King *Charles* the Second's time, by suffering the Subjects of that Nation to trade with the Northern Plantations of *America*, and by encouraging them to improve their own Woollen Manufacturies, to the great detriment of the Manufactures of this Kingdom. He also mentioned an Act of Parliament made in the 30th Year of that King's Reign, by the Preamble of which it appeared, that it was the Sense of the then House of Commons, "That the Nation had by long Ex-
 " perience found, that the importing of
 " *French* Wines, Brandy, Linen, Silks,
 " Salt and Paper, and other Commodities
 " of the Growth and Product of the Ter-
 " ritories of *France*, had much exhausted

*The Opin-
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“ the Treasure of *England*, lessened the
 “ Value of the Native Manufactures and
 “ Commodities thereof, and caused great
 “ detriment to the Kingdom in general.”

Wherefore they then made the said Act, to put some stop to the Importation of these Commodities. But the Court-Party were unwilling to believe that this had been the Sense of former Parliaments, and that they had been forced to restrain Commerce with *France* upon such weighty Considerations. And therefore Mr. *Bromley* the Speaker would have fain persuaded the House, that Mr. *Stanhope* was under a mistake, and that no such Act had ever been made : but Mr. *Stanhope* insisting to have that Act looked into, the Clerk was ordered to search the Books, and to read it ; whereby it appear'd that the Mistake lay on Mr. *Bromley's* side. Some Members having upon this animadverted very severely on the Speaker, the Debate was therefore put off ; and the next day most of the Members on both sides were willing the other Merchants, who had petition'd, but had not been examin'd, should be called in, to hear their Reasons against an open Trade with *France*. Mr. *Torriano* spoke in behalf of the *Spanish* Trade, and made several sharp Animadversions on the 8th and 9th Articles of this Treaty, and mentioned the 10th and 11th, as relating to the two former, in such a manner, as gave offence

Offence to some Court-Members, who moved that the House should order him to be taken into custody. But Mr. *Stanhope*, *Several Members stand up for the Trade of the Nation.* Mr. *Lechmere*, Sir *Peter King*, Mr. *Walpole*, and some others, pleaded in his behalf, and said, that unless they allowed the Merchants full Liberty to declare their Sentiments, it would be impossible for the House to form a right Judgment of the Affair; and particularly they insisted, that no man ought to suffer for standing up for the Trade of the Nation. This, with a noble Spirit that appeared in behalf of the Merchants, made the Courtiers drop their present Resentment: for not a few of those who had gone great lengths with the Court, and had even voted to bring in the Bill that was then in Debate, began to change their Sentiments; when they heard what the Merchants had to say against it; and the greatest part of the Members being now willing to get as much light as possible in this matter, obtain'd leave for the other Merchants to declare their Opinions: and accordingly Mr. *Wyat* was permitted to speak in behalf of the *Italian* Trade, Mr. *Milner* for the *Portugul* Trade, and Colonel *Lekeux* for the *Weavers*.

WHEN the Merchants were withdrawn, some Papers were also laid before the House; particularly a Scheme of Trade between *England* and *France* in the Year 1674, which

which put the matter beyond all debate. However, the Court-Party were willing to try the utmost, and having made some Amendments to the Bill, it was offered again to the House by Sir *Robert Davers*, the next day being the 18th of *June*, and a Motion was made that it should be engrossed. *Arthur Moore*, who was generally believed to be the Person chiefly employ'd in forming that Treaty, was now the chief Advocate for it, and would fain have persuaded the House that it was a good one. But this Person being like to spend a great deal of time to little purpose, Sir *Thomas Hanmer* stood up, and made a very honest and ingenuous Speech against it: That Gentlemen among other things said, “ That before he
 “ had examined the Affair in question to
 “ the bottom, he gave his Vote for bringing in the Bill to make the 8th and 9th
 “ Articles of the Treaty of Commerce effectual; but that having afterwards maturely weigh’d and considered the Allegations of the Merchants, Traders, and
 “ Manufacturers in their several Petitions and Representations, he was persuaded
 “ that the passing this Bill, would be of
 “ great Prejudice to the Woollen and Silk
 “ Manufactures of the Kingdom, and consequently increase the number of the Poor,
 “ and so in the end affect the Land. That
 “ while he had the honour to sit in that
 “ House,

Sir Thomas Hanmer's Speech.

“ House, he would never be blindly led by
 “ any Ministry, neither on the one hand was
 “ he bias’d by such Motives as might weigh
 “ with some Men, *viz.* the fear of losing
 “ their Elections; but that the Principles
 “ upon which he acted, were the Interest
 “ of his Country and the Conviction of his
 “ Judgement, and upon these two Conside-
 “ rations alone, he was against the Bill.”

This Speech coming from one, who was known to have a very great regard for the Queen, a Lover of the establish’d Church, and a Man of Character, had so great an Influence, that the Bill was rejected, tho only by a Majority of nine Voices: for some, who could say nothing in behalf of the Bill, yet being under the Direction of the Ministry, continued steadfast to their Party, and voted for it.

*The Bill of
 Commerce
 with
 France
 cast out.*

WHILE this Affair was in agitation, another Bill was also depending in Parliament concerning the Malt-Tax, which was proposed to extend to *North-Britain*, in regard the Parliament of *Great Britain* was by the 14th Article of the Treaty of Union at liberty after the War, to augment the Malt-Tax in *Scotland*, as they should see convenient. And in this Bill, it was ordain’d that the *Scots* Malt should pay an equal Duty with the *English* Malt: for notwithstanding all the Subsidies, which had been raised during the two preceeding Years, which was

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computed at no less than 14 Millions *sterl.* yet the Treasury was empty, and all Payments greatly in Arrear, so that our Ministers were ready to catch at every opportunity, to raise Money: which was indeed very surprizing, because by this time, the greatest Part of the Army was disbanded, and most of the Ships of War were laid up or sold. But the *Scots* looked on this Tax to be a very great Hardship, in regard a Bushel of *English* Malt is generally worth two or three Bushels of the *Scots*, and therefore the *Scots* Members oppos'd it with all their Might in the House of Commons; but finding their Endeavours prove unsuccessful there, they held divers Conferences with their own Peers, and Deputations were also sent from *Scotland*, to urge their Representatives to prevent so great a Burden falling upon their Country. Whereupon, some of the chief of the *Scots* Nation waited on the Queen, and acquainted her, That so heavy a Tax, and some other Infractions of the Union, had rais'd the Discontents to that degree in *Scotland*, as would oblige them to declare the Union dissolv'd, unless they were remedy'd. The Queen was somewhat surprized, and said, she wish'd they might not have cause to repent their precipitant Resolution: however she promis'd her Endeavours to make them easy. But when this Affair was brought into the House of Peers,

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An At-
tempt to
dissolve the
Union.

the *Scots* Lords persisted unanimously in their Desire of having the Union dissolv'd, and were back'd by several of the *English* Nobility, especially by those, who had the greatest share in making the Union, provided the *Scots* would continue the Succession of their Crown on the House of *Hanover*, as they had already engaged by the Union Act. These Lords came the more readily into the Scheme, because they were sufficiently apprehensive how much the Succession was in danger from all the Steps the Ministry had taken; for it was plain and obvious, that the Ministry had given all possible Encouragement to the Disaffection that appeared so universal throughout the Kingdom; by doing every thing to weaken the Hands of those, who were the greatest Friends to that Succession. And by their bad Management of the Peace, had divided the Allies, expos'd the Empire without a Barrier to be over-run with the united Power of *France* and *Spain*, and all *Europe* to a fresh War upon a very disadvantageous footing: they had expos'd some of our best Plantations to the Insults of *France*, and had given up the Trade of *Great Britain* to be ruined and undone by her; and in fine, had reduced themselves to this pass, that it was even to be apprehended they could have no way at last left to skreen them from the just Resentment of their Countrymen, but by altering the Succession, and casting

*It is owing
to the ill
Conduct of
the Ministry.*

sting themselves wholly under the Protection
 of the *French* King, whose Interest it was to
 promote that Revolution as the most sure
 way to recover his Affairs. Therefore the
 great Men, who sided with the *Scots*, were
 of opinion, if the *Scots* would by a new
 Act secure the Succession in the House of
Hanover, it might be of greater Advan-
 tage as a separate Kingdom, considering the
 Danger they justly apprehended from the ill
 Scituation of Affairs, than if the *Scots* con-
 tinued united with *England*; because they
 were sure of those, who were of the esta-
 blished Religion of *Scotland*, to stand by
 that Succession, and in case any Attempt
 should be made to alter it, *Scotland* would
 be a Sanctuary to all such Persons as might
 fly thither for their Adherence to the said Suc-
 cession. This was a reasonable Motive to in-
 duce those great Men, who oppos'd the
 Court Measures, to plead for having the
 Union dissolv'd, besides that so high a Tax on
 Malt, was judg'd to be a great Hardship on
 the Poor of *Scotland*, who have but small
 Wages, and could not be able to refresh
 themselves out of their Day-Labour with a
 Draught of Malt Liqueur, if the Price should
 be heightned. Howbeit the Court-Party
 went on with this Act, notwithstanding the
 Opposition that was made to it. But the
Scots having laid aside all their other Diffe-
 rences, and the Majority of the People in
 North-

North-Britain being also ready to confirm the Succession in the House of *Hanover*, as already establish'd by the Union Act; the Courtiers were not only disappointed thereby, but very much alarm'd, because they knew the *Scots* would by that means, draw to themselves a very powerful Party in *England*, whereby they might either procure the Union to be dissolved, or if that could not be done, would at least have the effect to weaken their Interest, which in the end might have been of ill consequence to their Designs; therefore the Courtiers judg'd it the safest way to desist: and tho the Malt-Act was finish'd, yet Assurances were given to the *Scots*, that it should not be put in execution; which intirely dissolved this new Conjunction, which had like to have been form'd between the *Scots* and those who oppos'd the Court-Measures in *England*.

ABOUT the same time, a Bill was brought into the House of Lords for an Act of Toleration for those who were of the Episcopal Persuasion in *Scotland*, that they should have the free Exercise of their Religion in the same manner as the Dissenters in *England*. This indeed, to all outward appearance, seem'd reasonable; but as it was managed, it had like to have been the Cause of much Confusion. Hitherto there had been no Law put in execution against the Episcopal Meetings in *Scotland*,
A Bill for
a Tolera-
tion in
Scotland.

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except

except where the Ministers refused to pray for the Queen; which also was frequently overlook'd, so that there was no great necessity for such a Toleration. But most of the Episcopal Ministers who held these Congregations being Nonjurors, and for that reason liable to be disturb'd by the Laws that were in force, obliging them to take the Oath of Allegiance, which was all that was before this required in *Scotland*; therefore the Friends of these Nonjuring Clergymen procured the Oath of Abjuration to be inserted in this Bill, and enjoin'd to be taken by all Ministers, as well those of the Established Religion of *Scotland*, as by the Ministers of the Episcopal Persuasion. But some of the *Scottish* Members, and others who opposed the Court-Measures, seeing clearly into the true Design of this Bill, insisted upon the undoubted Principles of the Established Ministers towards the Protestant Succession, and therefore that the Abjuration-Oath needed not to be tendered to them. But the Court-Party knowing very well that it would create some disturbance among the Established Ministers, and that some of them would refuse to take it without an Explanation, argu'd the more strenuously to have it extend to both, that by granting an Indulgence to such Presbyterian Ministers as should scruple the said Oath, the same might also be allow'd to the Episcopal

It is design'd to favour the Nonjurors.

copal Nonjurors; which they carried by a considerable Majority, notwithstanding some of the *Scottish* Representatives laid the whole Matter and Design of the Courtiers, open to both Houses.

NOW this Act was like a Watch-word to the Nonjurors in both Kingdoms, who began by it and the other Proceedings of the Court, to gather great Strength, and were so much conniv'd at by some Men in Power, and had such Encouragement from others, that they openly and avowedly declared their Sentiments with Impunity. If any complained of them, the Justices, who were for the most part Creatures of the Court, put off these Complaints as the effect of Malice, and in some of the publick Addresses that were sent to the Queen in approbation of the Peace, no mention was made of the Succession in the House of *Hanover*, and in one of these, it may be well remember'd, the Addressers expressed themselves in a very odd manner concerning the Succession, *viz.* That they could not be assured whether they would be look'd upon as loyal Subjects, if they presum'd to meddle with a Point, the Determination of which they took to be undoubtedly in the Queen. Others were yet more plain in favour of the Pretender; notwithstanding which, these Addresses were all graciously receiv'd, and the Persons, who presented them, introduced to the Queen with more than ordinary Notice.

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But when these Addreffes came to be printed by publick Authority, People were not a little aftonifhed, fome at the Freedom the great Men had taken in introducing thefe Persons, and afterwards printing their Addreffes; which fo plainly levell'd at the Conftitution and Proteftant Succeffion, while others were alarm'd at the Dangers, which feem'd by this audacious Conduct, to be nearer at hand than any one had imagined. And the immediate effect thefe things had on the Publick, was, that thofe, who appeared under any deep concern for the Intereft of the Houfe of *Hanover*, were expofed to be infulted, while the Pretender's Caufe was openly espous'd, and his Health drank in many giddy Cabals and Meetings throughout the Kingdom.

BUT this was fo far from doing the Miniftry any real Service, that it proved a flumbling Block to feveral Members of both Houfes, who at the fame time they had a very great Veneration for the Queen, did not however like to fee things carried to fo dangerous a pafs. Some of the Minifters themfelves, particularly the Lord Chancellor *Harcourt*, and the Lord Treafurer, were not a little difatisfy'd at *Bolingbroke's* Rafhnefs and ill Conduct, he having the chief hand in introducing the Patrons of thefe Addreffes to the Queen, who perhaps did not fee into their Confequences; for ſhe was blind-

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ed with the egregious Flatteries, that were continually stuff'd into these Addresses; which, however, had this effect, that the opposite Party took the Opportunity from these forward Steps in *Bolingbroke* and his Friends, to importune the Queen and her Ministers daily, until they obtained further Promises of Security for the Protestant Succession: besides that, the honest Men of both Parties were inclinable after this, to look more narrowly into the present State of Affairs.

THE Equivalent for *Dunkirk*, had given no small Jealousy, that there might be a considerable Sum of Money paid for it; because notwithstanding the vast Subsidies, that were raised for this, and the preceeding Years, the Guards and Garrisons, the Queen's Household, *Chelsea* Colledge, and almost all, who receiv'd Pay or Salaries, were very much in arrear; and yet it was at the same time given out, that the Civil List was much incumbered, and that the Funds would prove very deficient. The Proceedings relating to the *Scots* Malt-Tax, were also looked on as what plainly intimated the necessity of the State, considering how unseasonably it was importuned, and with so much hazard to the Ministry: and therefore an Address was procured in the House of Commons without much Opposition, to know of the Queen, what Equivalent was to be given for

Q 2

Dunkirk,

An Ad-
dress of the
House of
Commons
concerning
Dunkirk.

Dunkirk. This put the Court somewhat to a stand, because *Lisle*, and some other Fortresses in the *Netherlands*, had been made over to *France*, both in the Treaty of Peace with that Nation, and in the Barrier-Treaty, in both which, the said Places were mentioned as the Equivalent for *Dunkirk*; and probably they did not expect any further enquiry would be made about it: and it was so long after presenting this Address before the House of Commons had an Answer, that they almost gave over all expectation of it. But the Ministry having at last recovered out of their Surprise, and very probably thinking it might be the means to increase Peoples Jealousies, that Money had been given to *France*, as well as the Places abovementioned, if no Answer should be made to this Address: Therefore an Answer was prepared and reported in the Queen's Name by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, viz. "That in pursuance of the Treaty of Peace with *France*, and the Barrier-Treaty with the States-General, the Equivalent which was to be given for the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, was already in the *French King's* hands;" which being read in a full House, gave but little satisfaction.

ABOUT the same time, another Message was sent in the Queen's Name, to recommend the Debts of the Civil-List to the House of Commons: That they would im-
power

power her to raise such a Sum of Money as might enable her to discharge the Debts thereof, and settle the Expence to be regularly paid for the future. When the Estimate was read, Mr. *Smith*, who had been Speaker of the House of Commons formerly, and one of the Tellers of the Exchequer, objected very much against it, averring, that to his certain Knowledge, the Debts of the Civil-List in the Month of *August*, 1710, did not amount to above a Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds, for the Payment of part of which Sum, there was Money standing out, besides great Quantities of Tin; whereas, by the Estimate now laid before the Commons, the said Debts to *Midsummer* 1710, were made to amount to above four Hundred Thousand Pounds. Upon this, it was moved to address the Queen, that she would cause an Account to be laid before the House of the Arrears of the Civil-List Funds standing out at *Midsummer* 1710, and also an Account of the Debts of the Civil-List, as they stood at this time, and of the Arrears of the Civil-List Funds to pay the same. The Persons, who had been concerned in the Management of the Revenue in the time of the late Ministry, when these Debts were first contracted, being so forward to have their Transactions laid to open View; it was believed the Majority would have seconded that Motion, not only from what was observable,

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when they cast out the Bill of Commerce, but as many of the Court-Members seem'd to have some Jealousy in the Affair of *Dunkirk*: but it happen'd quite otherwise, for they rejected that Motion, and order'd the Sum of 500000*l.* of the Revenues appointed to the Uses of the Civil Government, to be apply'd to clear the Debts of the Civil-List. And tho this indeed very much strengthened the hands of the Ministry to go through with their Designs, yet it was believed, some of the Members had their own Interest concerned in this Vote, as it enabled the Ministers to requite their Favours, especially, that it was the last Session, and drawing towards the time of a new Election.

THE Treaties of Peace and Commerce with *France* having met with so much Opposition, and the Queen being so nearly concern'd in this matter, Sir *Thomas Hammer*, as he had been a great Instrument in casting out the Bill of Commerce, so when these other Affairs were over, out of Respect and Duty to her, made a motion for an Address, " Proposing the humble Thanks of the
 " House for the great Care her Majesty had
 " taken for the Security and Honour of her
 " Kingdoms in the Treaty of Peace, and al
 " so what she had done in the Treaty of
 " Commerce with *France*, by laying so
 " good a Foundation for the Interest of her
 " People in Trade. And humbly to desire
 " her

“ her Majesty that she would be pleased to
 “ appoint Commissaries to treat with Com-
 “ missaries on the part of *France*, for ad-
 “ justing such Matters as should be necessa-
 “ ry to be settled in the Treaty of Com-
 “ merce between her Majesty and *France*,
 “ that the Treaty might be so explain'd and
 “ perfected, that an intire Scheme of Trade
 “ might be settled, for the making effectual
 “ her Majesty's gracious Intentions for the
 “ Good and Welfare of her People.” Sir
Thomas Hammer no doubt looked upon this
 as the most dutiful and becoming way of ad-
 vising the Queen, to rectify what was amiss
 in the Treaty of Commerce.

NEVERTHELESS some Members
 spoke against the first Part of this Address,
 because by the Treaty of Commerce, *Great*
Britain was only to have the Liberty to
 trade to three Ports of *France* with her
 Woollen Manufactures, *viz. St. Valeroy,*
Rouen, and *Bordeaux*, which the *French*
 had obtain'd with this view, that being af-
 terwards transported by Land, or by the
French Subjects by Sea, they might be ren-
 dered so dear, as to discourage their Impor-
 tation wholly. And therefore, after the
 Committee was appointed for drawing up
 the Address, Gen. *Stanhope* moved, “ That
 “ it should be an Instruction to the said Com-
 “ mittee, to represent it as the Sense of the
 “ House, That the Commissaries, who
 Q 4 were

A Motion
in behalf of
Trade re-
jected by
the House
of Com-
mons.

“ were to treat of the Commerce with
“ *France*, should insist, that Liberty might
“ be given to the *British* Subjects, to trade
“ to all the Ports in the *French* King's Do-
“ minions without Restriction.” But this,
to the great Surprize of the Trading Part of
the Nation, was rejected; and the Queen, in
Answer to the Address of the House of
Commons upon Sir *Thomas Haumer's* Mo-
tion, after her thanks for their Approbation
of her Treaties, said, “ It was with no small
“ difficulty, that so great Advantages in
“ Trade were obtain'd for her Subjects, and
“ that she would readily comply with their
“ Desires in continuing her utmost Care for
“ securing the Benefits, she had stipulated for
“ her People.”

BUT this was such an open and barefac'd
Abuse of the Queen, after her Arms had re-
duc'd *France* to the greatest extremity, that
many considerable Persons in both Houses
and without doors, could not refrain taking
notice how gross this Conduct was in those,
who had advis'd the Answer, and were not
a little astonish'd, that any body could think it
such an one, as might satisfy a Nation, whose
Happiness consisted so much in her Trade.
Others were under the deepest concern, be-
cause they could not, after the Queen had
made such a publick Declaration, that the
Terms were advantageous, and that she had
therefore obtained them with much diffi-
culty;

culty, expect any redress; but on the contrary, that *France* would encroach still further on the Trade of *Britain*, upon so naked and open a Confession from the Throne, of the Queen's Impotency. And indeed things had but a dull Aspect every way; for the *French* were gaining considerable Advantages in *Germany*, having taken *Friburg*, *Landau*; and other Fortresses on the *Rhine*; which were the strongest Bulwarks of the Empire. At the same time the Peace between the States-General and the Crown of *Spain*, was not like to come to any conclusion, nor were the Treaties between that Crown and *Great Britain* finish'd; notwithstanding *Philip* was put in full possession of that Monarchy. Mean while, there was so good a Harmony between the Courts of *Britain*, *France*, and *Spain*; that nothing was talk'd of, but Presents and Compliments. Our Courtiers regal'd themselves with *French* Wines, and our best breeding Mares were sent to *France*; the Duke d'Aumont, who came over about this time Ambassador from the *French* King, was very much carress'd at Court, and the Popish Priests, both Natives and Foreigners, swarm'd from all Parts to *London*, and appear'd publickly without any notice taken by the Magistrates. Many other things daily happen'd, that look'd with so bad an Aspect, that those, who wish'd the real Welfare of their Country, could not avoid running

*The Pre-
tender
takes up
his Resi-
dence in
Lorrain.*

running the hazard of the Queen's displeasure in the freedom they took with her Ministers. For besides all other Grievances, the Pretender had taken up his Residence in *Lorrain*, where he was at hand on any Emergency, that might offer to his advantage; being recommended to the Duke of *Lorrain's* Protection by the *French King*; who, it seems, had procured the Queen's Warrant for that purpose. But this was such an Affront, as could not be overlook'd, and therefore the Earl of *Wharton* complained of it to the House of Lords, where, after some sharp Satire against the Ministry, he moved, that an Address should be presented to the Queen, "To use her
" utmost Endeavours with the Duke of *Lor-
" rain*, and with all other Princes and States
" in Amity with her, that they would not
" receive, or suffer the Pretender to her
" Crown, to continue in any Part of their
" Dominions." This Address was so reason-
able, that no body oppos'd it but the Lord
North, and Grey, who after starting some
Difficultys on the Queen's part, asked, where
they would have that Person to reside, since
most, if not all the Powers of *Europe*, were
in Amity with the Queen? To this, the
Earl of *Peterborough* made Answer, "That
" as he began his Studies at *Paris*, the fit-
" test Place for him to improve himself,
" was *Rome*." The same Motion was also
made in the House of Commons, where, no
body oppos'd it, only Sir *William Whitlock*
said,

said, he remembred, that the like Address had been made to *Oliver Cromwel* for having *Charles Stuart* removed out of *France*, notwithstanding which, he was some time after restored to his Father's Throne. However both the Addresses were voted, and presented to the Queen: and tho' none of the Members in either House could avoid joining in this Request without incurring the blame of favouring the Pretender's Interest, yet it seems her Ministers were dissatisfy'd with it; for in her Answer to the Commons, she said bluntly, she would comply with what they requested of her: for the Court always made it their Study, that the Queen should do nothing to disoblige that House, especially, that their chief dependance was in them, and they began now to lose some ground in the House of Lords. And therefore in her Answer to the Lords, the Sentiments of her Ministry were declared with more Freedom, for in it she said, if the Animosities at home could be cured, that would be the only means to secure the Protestant Succession: whereby she plainly shew'd her dislike to the Addresses of both Houses, but thought fit only to express her Resentment in her Answer to the Lords.

Both Houses address the Queen for his removal.

The Queen dislikes this Address.

ALL this while most of the Inferiour Clergy continued in the Court Interest, and therefore could not accord very well with the Bishops, some of whom did by no means relish the

*A Disa-
greement
between
the Bishops
and the in-
feriour
Clergy.*

the publick Proceedings: for when it was expected that the Convocation should according to Custom address the Queen upon account of the Peace, the lower House refus'd to join with the Bishops in an Address the Bishops had prepared, alledging they had not expressed a sufficient thankfulness for the Peace, nor that Confidence in the Queen, which they ought to have done. The Bishops were so sensible of the Weakness and Insufficiency of the Treaties her Ministers had made, that they could not in Conscience express themselves otherwise than in a way that shewed both their doubtfulness and concern for the ill State of the publick Affairs. But the lower House having upon this drawn up a separate Address of their own, presented it to the Queen, without the concurrence of the Bishops, and without the Consent of several Members of their own House, who entered their Protest against it: to which the Queen gave a very favourable Answer, tho' some Years before, when the like Disagreement happen'd between the two Houses of Convocation, the Queen refused a separate Address from the lower House, and term'd it a manifest Act of Disobedience in the Inferiour Clergy, and an Infringement on the establish'd Constitution of the Church of *England*. And as this Act of Disobedience caused the Bishops to make several Resolves against the lower House,

House, so it was the Occasion of violent Disputes among the Laity, of whom, many at this time, were more inclinable to favour the Proceedings of the lower House, than the Bishops; but especially that the Queen had approved the Conduct of the lower House, and given a Sanction to their Contumacy.

AFTER all these Disputes, both in the Parliament and Convocation; and the Summer being also pretty far advanc'd, the Queen came to the House, and put an end to this Parliament; which had now continued their Term of three Years, having first made a Speech, wherein among other things, "She expressed her utmost satisfaction, particularly in the Zeal and Affection of the House of Commons, and said, she doubted not at the next Meeting, the Affair of Commerce would be so understood, that the advantageous Conditions she had obtain'd from *France*, would be made effectual for the Benefit of the *British* Trade, and that she hoped to meet her Parliament next Winter resolved to act on the same Principles, and with such Vigour, A strange Expression in the Queen's Speech. as should enable her to support the Liberties of *Europe* abroad, and reduce the Spirit of Faction at home." For so the Persons, who advis'd the Queen in making this Speech, were pleas'd to term that noble Zeal, which appeared in those, who

who stood up for the Liberties of their Country, the Protestant Succession, and the Trade of the Nation.

BUT no sooner was the Parliament dissolved, and the Members gone to their Country Seats, when the Ministry conniv'd at some things, which encouraged the Pretender's Friends very much; particularly in allowing the Magistrates of *Dunkirk* to present an Address to the Queen, and afterwards a Memorial, to save the Harbour and some of the Fortifications of that Place, on a Pretence, that the filling up the Harbour would not only ruin that Town, but lay a good part of the Country under Water. And tho some of the Court Agents pleaded for this as an Act of Mercy to the Inhabitants, and pretended it would be no damage to *England*, provided the chief Fortifications were razed; yet it made so great a Noise, that the Court was obliged to insist on the Demolition of the Works, and filling up the Harbour: for if this Request of the Magistrates of *Dunkirk* had been granted, the Ministry found they must thereby have lost many of their Friends, who were not so closely attach'd to them, as to connive at an Evasion in a matter of so great Importance to the Nation. However, the Temper of the Court was so well known by the Queen's Speech, and the subsequent Transactions of the Ministry, especially in that
rela-

relating to *Dunkirk*; (which the Nonjurors interpreted as a Design to favour a future Invasion from thence in behalf of the Pretender,) that several Addresses were drawn up by disaffected Persons in divers Parts of the Kingdom, full of Ambiguity concerning the Succession to the Crown, and some of them were conceiv'd as much in the Pretender's favour, as they could well be, without mentioning him by Name; and all this to make the Nation and the whole World believe, that these were the true Sentiments of the People. Some of these Addresses came from *North Britain*, where the Disaffected to the Protestant Succession, were, by reason of their Distance from the Seats of Justice, and the Insufficiency of some Laws more open and barefac'd than they durst venture to be in other Parts of the Kingdom. And such was the Insolence of the Papists in *Scotland*, especially in the North and other remote Parts, that they set up several Mass-Houses, whereunto People frequented as publickly as to the Parish Churches, and even many Protestants were grown so sanguine in the Pretender's Cause, that they gave out in all Places as a piece of News, that the Pretender was about to embrace the Protestant Religion; and that *Lesley*, his Chaplain, performed Divine Service every day, whereunto they said the Pretender gave constant Attendance. Besides this, many excellent Characters

raffers were drawn, to set him off both in his Person and Qualities, and Pictures said to be his, were handed about and very much idolized both here and in Scotland, by such as were fond of Novelties. And the Scots being under very great Discontents about the Union, therefore they were given to understand, if ever he came to the Throne, it was his full Intention to dissolve it, and to redress all their Grievances.

An absurd
Scheme of
the Jaco-
bites.

A Scheme was also much talk'd of for a new Ecclesiastical Establishment, to which, the Writings of this *Lesley*, and some others were calculated, viz. to form an Union between the Churches of *England* and *France*, that in *England*, the Church should be independent of the Civil Power, and in *France* should shake off the Pope's Supremacy. But this was an absurd Scheme, tho it is probable it might give some Jealousy to the Court of *Rome*, as it was suited to the Maxims of abundance of the *French* Clergy, and most of the *English* Nonjurors. And therefore tho the Condemnation of Father *Quesnel's* Propositions, was the Foundation of the Bull *Unigenitus* of *Clement XI.* yet as this Bull came forth, when Mens Thoughts were imploy'd about this new Scheme, it is not improbable, but the Court of *Rome* had also an Eye to prevent such an Union. However this Project served well enough to amuse some weak Heads, and was very well relish'd by several Clergy.

Clergymen here in *England*, and by many of the Episcopal Persuasion in *Scotland*, as it fell in with their other Schemes.

BUT these things were the cause of much Distraction in *Scotland*, where those, who stood up for the establish'd Government, and the Protestant Succession, were born down by the Insolence of the Pretender's Party, who had the Countenance and Favour of some great Men in the Court Interest. The *Seven* Act of Toleration had also the Effect, which the Court-Party proposed by it. For when the Oath of Abjuration came to be tendered to the established Ministers, several refused to take it in the express Words thereof, tho' all of them were willing and ready to abjure the Pretender, had the Oath been drawn up in another Form, without referring to the Acts mentioned in the said Oath; which, because they obliged the Successor to the Crown, to be of the Communion of the Church of *England*, some of them therefore, were fearful lest that Oath should bind them to give their solemn Approbation to that, which was contrary to their Profession and Sentiments: the Sovereign being by these Acts confined to a Communion, whereunto they judged they could be no otherwise engaged than in Charity. The time being therefore enlarged in favour of these Ministers of the establish'd Religion; the

*Scruples
about the
Oath of
Abjura-
tion.*

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same

same was also conniv'd at; for the Benefit of the Jacobite Nonjurors, who after that, exercis'd their Function with more Freedom than they could do, before the Act was made.

BUT this, very much weaken'd the Hands of those, who were Friends to the Protestant Succession, and the Jacobite Party made use of the present Behaviour of some of the *Scots* Presbyterian Ministers, to impose on the People, that the Reason which made them scruple the Oath, was nothing but their Doubtfulness, as to the Pretender's Right. And therefore to convince the World of the contrary, the established Ministers omitted no opportunity of making the most publick Declaration of their Sentiments; but more especially by an Act, which the Commission of the General Assembly issued forth the latter end of the Summer, entitled, *A seasonable Warning against the Dangers of Popery*: which was given in charge to the Ministers and recommended to the People, " wherein they expos'd the Artifices, " that were made use of by the Pretender's " Adherents to weaken the Protestant Interest in that Kingdom, and took notice, " that tho neither the Episcopal Party, nor " any other in *Scotland* could ever since " the Reformation, be prevailed on, to embrace any Liturgy or set Form of Worship; yet that they might procure to " them-

“ themselves as many Friends as possible in
 “ *England*, they had, contrary to the Me-
 “ thod of their Predecessors, and their own
 “ usual Practice, introduced the Liturgy of
 “ the Church of *England* into all their Mee-
 “ tings, tho it was observ’d that few or
 “ none of them pray’d for the Queen,”

WHEN this Act of the Assembly was sent to the several Parishes, all the Ministers, (as well those, who took the Abjuration Oath, as those, who refus’d it,) willingly and without reserve declared their Loyalty to the Queen, and firm Attachment to the Protestant Succession in the House of *Hanover*; and according as was enjoyn’d them by the said Act, they in their several Places obtestated all Persons in their several Stations, to make use of all Christian means, both with fervent Prayers to God, and Persuasives to their Fellow-Subjects, that they would do every thing that might be necessary to promote the Interest of that House, as the only means left under God to preserve their Religious and Civil Rights, and every thing that could be most dear to them. But the adverse Party, as they gain’d Strength by introducing the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, into the Episcopal Meetings in *Scotland*, in regard it procured them the Favour of the High-Church Party in *England*, so they took a handle from the Scruples of some of the established Ministers about the Abjuration Oath,

The Scots Ministers shew their Zeal for the Succession in the House of Hanover.

Endeavour to introduce the English Service in Scotland.

and the Indiscretion of others, to give the People very bad Impressions of these Ministers; so that no pains was spared to weaken and undermine them, tho' by no less Hazard than by joining with profess'd Nonjurors. And such was the Zeal of some great Men here, and particularly of some Bishops and other noted Clergymen, for introducing the *English* Liturgy in *Scotland*, that even at the Request of professed Jacobites, they procured a considerable Sum of Money from the Queen, and collected several other Sums among their Friends, to be laid out in Common-Prayer Books; which were sent to *Scotland*, and were distributed among the poorer sort by the Jacobite Agents. Perhaps this might proceed from a good Disposition in some towards Uniformity in Religion, as the whole Island was now become united in their Civil Interests; and as these had conceived a high Opinion of the Ministry's Zeal for the Church of *England*, they might think no time so seasonable as now, that they had already receiv'd the Common-Prayer in the Episcopal Meetings, which had been in all times past refus'd by the Episcopal Clergy, as well as the Presbyterians. Now the *Scots* Nonjurors, (whose Views were to bring the High-Church Party in *England*, who had fallen in with their Schemes of Hereditary Right, over wholly to their Sentiments,) among other things, gave out that the

the People of *Scotland* were wonderfully disposed to embrace the *English* Liturgy; which the then Archbishop of *York*, the Bishop of *London*, and many others, both among the Clergy and Laity, were forward to encourage, without observing the Snare that was cast in their way, and the dangerous Consequences of such Undertakings. For as this was contrived in Violation of the Rights of the establish'd Religion of *Scotland*, confirmed by the Union, so it was the cause of great Distraction in that Kingdom; which might have been attended with many sore Calamities, had things continued much longer on the same footing.

WHILE *Scotland* was in this distracted Condition, *Ireland* was in no less Confusion; for the Queen had advanc'd Sir *Constantine Phipps*, one of Dr. *Sacheverell's* Counsel, to be Chancellor of that Kingdom. And had also set some other Ministers over them, who were no ways acceptable to the *Irish* House of Commons; but the Majority, both of the Lords and Clergy, were seduc'd into the Measures of the *British* Court. Now the great Awe and Terror the Protestants of that Kingdom had constantly been under by reason of the superiour Number of Papists among them, and their unexampled Cruelties, had hitherto been the means to cultivate a good Understanding and Harmony between the established Church and the

*The Affairs
of Ireland
in great
Confusion.*

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Dissenters, who had constantly stood by one another in defence of their common Interest. And it is very well known, that the Dissenters in the North of *Ireland* at the time of the Revolution, hazarded their Lives and Fortunes, and did such signal Services, that those of the established Church, both Clergy and Laity, had always express'd a very grateful Sense thereof. But it was now become quite otherwise, for many Persons of no mean Note in that Kingdom forgetting the imminent Dangers that threatned their Religion and Liberties during the Reign of the late King *James*, and the Hardships all Protestants, without distinction, were then brought under, began to insult the Dissenters, who not only suffered many Affronts from private Persons in Violation of the Laws ; but were represented by the Bishop of *Cork*, and some other of the Bishops, as a factious turbulent People ; so that the House of Lords, in a publick Address, represented them as such to the Queen, and for no other Reason, but because they had interested themselves with more than ordinary Warmth in some of the Elections. This gave so good a Handle to the Papists, and some mercenary Persons, who had got into Power, that things were strangely altered in that Kingdom, tho, contrary to the general Sense of the Protestants, the far greater number of them still retaining an implacable Dislike to every

every thing that might give the least Encouragement to Papists. By this means the Elections could never be so influenc'd, as to procure a House of Commons suitable to the Mind of the Court: But what the Court could not do by other means, they essay'd by Bribery, and the Jacobite Party having but too much Countenance from the great Men, began this Year to gather Strength, and rais'd great Tumults in the City of *Dublin* at the Election of the Lord Mayor, where the Papists were openly impudent, and audacious, in keeping back those Persons from voting, who were the most strenuous in the true Interest of their Country, and did the same at the Election of the City Members, and were no less insulting in divers other Parts of the Kingdom. The Government was also very remiss in punishing these Rioters; on the contrary, they did all they could to have them acquitted, nor did they take such notice as they ought to have done of the Printers and Publishers of Seditious Libels in favour of Popery and the Pretender's Cause; but when others had them taken up and try'd, the great Men recommended them to the Queen, as fit Objects of her Clemency, either on the account of their Poverty, or on some other Pretence: whereas those, who did the least thing that was irregular, tho in favour of the Constitution and Protestant Succession, were adjudged Enemies

to the Queen's Government, turbulent and seditious Persons, and were therefore punished with the utmost severity.

THE Duke of *Shrewsbury* was this Year Lord Lieutenant. He had been very forward in promoting the Revolution, which rendered him the most acceptable Person, could have been sent among them, of all who were then in favour with the Queen; and the rather that since his coming over, he expressed himself to be still of the same Mind: which encourag'd them to take some of the Ministry to account; and accordingly they charged the Lord Chancellor *Phipps*, as being the chief Instrument of all the Mischiefs which threatened the Constitution, by giving Encouragement to Rapists and other Persons disaffected to the Protestant Religion and Liberties of *Ireland*; upon which they made several Resolves against him, and addressed the Queen to have him removed from his Office of Lord High Chancellor.

The Irish House of Commons accuse Sir Constantine Phipps.

He is befriended by the Lords and Clergy.

But the House of Lords having made a superficial Examination into some Facts that were particularly charged upon him, drew up a Representation to the Queen in his favour. This was back'd with another from the Convocation, who also sent a Deputation to thank him for the many eminent and signal Services; which they alledged he had done to the Church. The *Irish House of Commons*, in all their Addresses to the Queen,

Queen, expressed a no less regard for her Person than the Lords; but as they had an extraordinary Concern for the Protestant Religion, so they seldom omitted mentioning the Revolution and the late King *William*, the glorious Instrument thereof, with that Gratitude, which became a People who by him had been rescued from the most imminent Dangers. But as the remembering those things, and the freedom they took in expressing their present Fears, carried an Insinuation of a Resemblance between that time and the times before the Revolution, so their Addresses were no ways acceptable to the Queen, who perhaps did not think their Dangers so great as they really were; and for that reason, she permitted all her Answers to carry in them, an Air of severe Reproof: whereas, her Answers to the Lords and Convocation, were full of Affection and Expressions of the highest Approbation; and in that to the Lords concerning Sir *Constantine Phipps*, she took notice, "That as she had always looked on the Lord Chancellor, as a faithful Servant to the Crown, and a true Lover of the Constitution both in Church and State, she was therefore very well pleased to find by their Address, that the House concurred with her in the same Opinion of him."

THINGS being brought to this pass in *Ireland* and *Scotland*, it proved the Occasion of

of still greater Feuds and Animosities between the two opposite Parties in all the three Kingdoms ; the one side justly dreading the Dangers of Popery, and the other being either bias'd with Court Promises, or hoodwink'd by their own Credulity ; and having imbibed false Notions of their Duty to their Sovereign, were even ready to give up their birthright to the Arbitrary Designs of a bad Ministry, under the Mask or blind Persuasion of Loyalty. But this was the more surprising, that they had now a different Example from some of their own Party. The Bill of Commerce had indeed opened some Peoples Eyes, tho it is but too natural for all Men, when they have once imbibed false Sentiments, not to make that open and frank acknowledgment of their Mistakes that they ought to do, but to avoid the Imputation of weakness and want of foresight in themselves, and the mistrust People might have of their Honesty, are for palliating even the Offences and Designs of those, who lead them into such Mistakes. This was no doubt the Case of many honest Gentlemen, who perhaps were unwilling to find fault with the Ministry, and whatever Opinion they might have conceived of them, could not however by the most favourable Constructions they were able to make of their Actions, but believe that some of them were contrary to the true Interest of their Country.

ry. However, as there are but few Persons able to see very far into the remote and distant Consequences of things, especially those that require so much Application and Labour as the Affairs of Peace and War, and of Commerce, so it was easy enough to be imagined, that many would make large Allowances for the insufficiency of the late Treaties and the Persons who made them, as being not ill designed by them: Others again were ignorantly wavering and uncertain, and continued in a sort of suspense by reason of the Efforts the leading Men on both sides made in favour of their own Opinions of things, without giving themselves the Trouble of entering into the true merits of either. And some of the Clergy were so invincibly attached to the Ministry from several publick Acts, which they had obtained, and others which they expected in favour of their Sentiments, that they receiv'd all things implicitly, that came from the Court.

As things stood thus, it was not difficult for the Ministry to go on with their Designs, whereunto the Clergy did not a little contribute; tho it is to be hoped some did it ignorantly, otherwise they would have hardly concurr'd so readily in promoting Measures, which had they taken effect must have endangered that very Constitution; which they all seem'd more than ordinarily sol-

*The Cler-
gy abused
by Court-
Promises.*

solicitions to preserve. The Clergy indeed have lain under Discontents, by reason of the smallness of many Ecclesiastical Livings in *England*, which being insufficient to maintain Persons of a liberal Education, exposed them the more to the flattering Artifices of the Courtiers, who pretended a Regard for their Function, and to outward Appearance always shew'd them abundance of Respect, at the same time, that they had it neither in their power to augment their Livings, (which can only be the Effect of Time, and a good Disposition towards Religion, rather than Party) nor to gratify their other Desires. However, there was so much Magick in Court Promises, that the Generality of the Clergy shew'd themselves very active in the Elections to promote such Persons who were put up by the Ministry, tho' afterwards some of them became sensible of their Error, for the Ministry were at this time going very great Lengths; particularly the Lord *Bolingbroke* and his Friends, who procur'd Licences of the Queen, to bring over some who had been outlaw'd, even since the Abdication of the late King *James*, and conniv'd at the Abuses which were committed in the Elections by Non-jurors and other disaffected Persons. Besides this, several Books were also published to dispose the Nation to embrace the Interest of the Pretender, in which the Revolution

was

was openly condemn'd. Likewise some Pamphlets came forth to prove the Pretender's Legitimacy, without the least notice taken of them by the Ministry; and a Book in Folio concerning the Hereditary Right to the Crown, wrote by one Nonjur-ing Clergyman, and fathered by another, was presented to the Queen, and well received by her; tho' it was so plain against the Revolution-Settlement, that it made a very great Noise, and the Ministry could not prevent the Law taking place against *Brudford* the supposed Author, who was fined and imprisoned, and sentenced to stand on the Pillory. But being a Clergyman, great Interest was made with the Queen to have the ignominious part of the Sentence remitted, which they procured. Besides, the Ministry took all possible Methods to get such Persons chosen to sit in Parliament, as would acquiesce intirely with their Measures. And because the late Parliament did not give the Ministry full Satisfaction in the Affair of Commerce, they made it their business even to work out several Members, who had accorded with them in every thing else, and to let the Electors know, that no choice would be acceptable to the Queen, but of such Persons as would approve of the Treaties of Peace and Commerce: whereby they procured a House of Commons intirely to their Mind.

BUT

BUT as this Parliament was to determine several Matters of the greatest Consequence to the Ministry, their Meeting was therefore put off from time to time, that all who were in the Court Interest might be fully instructed how they should demean themselves, so as to render their Services acceptable to the Queen; under whose Patronage all their Designs were carry'd on. For our great Men were not a little apprehensive, that in regard the Treaty of Commerce with *France* had been rejected, so the Treaties with *Spain*, which were now finished, would also be called for by some Members, and would probably be as much if not more dislik'd than the Treaties with *France*. Now it was agreed that the Trade with *Spain* should be put on the same foot as in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second of *Spain*, and that all the new Duties which had been exacted since the War, should be annul'd: but by three new explanatory Articles added to this Treaty, a Duty of 10 *per Cent. ad Valorem*, was to be laid on all Commodities to be exported or imported by the Subjects of *Great Britain*, instead of the old Duties in the abovementioned Reign; which Duty was not only much higher than the old Duties, but the *British* Merchants were also brought under such Restrictions, as would have rendered the Trade with *Spain* impracticable. But that

The State
of our Com-
merce with
Spain.

that the Nation might swallow these Difficulties, the Concessions of *Gibraltar* and the Island of *Minorca* to be garrison'd by *English* Soldiers, which were to be obtain'd by this Treaty, were greatly extol'd and magnify'd; and that it was the Ministry's Zeal for the Trade of the Nation, had made them insist so strenuously to have those important Places delivered into the hands of the Queen of *Great Britain*, tho it was thought if the Queen had liv'd would have soon been given back again or betray'd. The Liberty granted to the *South-Sea* Company of importing Negroes into the *Spanish West-Indies*, upon the same footing as had been granted to *France*, was also very much boasted of: tho the half of the Profits of that Trade were only to be given to the Company, there being one 4th Part to go to the King of *Spain*, and the other 4th to the Queen, or to such Persons to whom she should assign the same: but this greatly dissatisfy'd some of the *South-Sea* Company, which obliged the Ministry to delay the Meeting of the Parliament, whereunto the Queen's ill State of Health also contributed, she being at this time very much afflicted with the Gout. So that they not only had time to deal with the leading Men of that Company, but to bring all their Party in the House of Commons, to entertain a favourable Opinion of the Treaties with *Spain*; which few of them under-

understood, otherwise than as they were represented to them by the Ministry, and their Agents.

1714. *The Meeting of the Parliament.* ON the 16th of *February*, this new Parliament met; and made choice of Sir *Thomas Hanmer* for their Speaker, he having not only the Votes of those who were in the Court Interest, but of the opposite Party; upon the account of his great Merit, in throwing out the Bill of Commerce with *France*.

ON the 2d of *March* the Queen came to the House of Peers, and opened this first Session with a Speech, wherein she acquainted them, “ That she had now the Satisfaction to tell them that the Ratifications “ of the Treaty of Peace and Commerce “ with *Spain* were exchanged, by which “ her Subjects would have greater Opportunities than ever, to extend and improve “ their Trade; and that many Advantages “ formerly enjoy’d by connivance, and procured by such Methods as made a Distinction between one *British* Merchant and “ another, were settled by Treaty, and an “ equal Rule established. That as God had “ blessed her Endeavours in obtaining an “ honourable and advantageous Peace to “ her own Subjects, and the greatest part of “ her Allies, so she was persuaded she might “ be able to compleat the Settlement of all “ *Europe* by their Concurrence, and in the “ mean

“ mean while she express’d herself in
 “ Terms of Congratulation that her Sub-
 “ jects were delivered from a confu-
 “ ming Land-War, and entered upon a
 “ Peace; the good Effects of which nothing
 “ but intestine Divisions could obstruct.
 “ And as it had been the Glory of the
 “ greatest and wisest of her Ancestors to
 “ hold the Ballance of *Europe*, by which
 “ Conduct they had enriched the Kingdom;
 “ so it should in like manner be her study
 “ to follow their Example. That the Sci-
 “ tuation of *Great Britain* pointed out
 “ her true Interest; that she could only
 “ flourish by Trade, and would be most
 “ formidable by the right Application of her
 “ naval Force.” And after the Queen had
 recommended to the House of Commons,
 to provide for the Exigences of the Go-
 vernment; she gave a severe Reprimand
 to those who had opposed the Measures of
 the Court, which some had indeed done
 both in their Speeches and Writings. And
 as those Things gave the Queen and her
 Ministers great Uneasiness, she said, “ She
 “ could wish effectual Care had been taken
 “ to suppress those seditious Papers and fac-
 “ tious Rumours, by which designing Men
 “ had been able to sink Credit, whereby the
 “ Innocent had suffered; and that some had
 “ arrived to that height of Malice, as to in-
 “ sinuate that the Protestant Succession in
 S “ the

“ the House of *Hanover* was in Dange
 “ under her Government, and that such
 “ Persons who went about thus to distract
 “ the Minds of Men with Imaginary Dan-
 “ gers, could only mean to disturb the pre-
 “ sent Tranquillity, and bring real Mis-
 “ chiefs upon the Nation. And therefore
 “ she could not, after all she had done to se-
 “ cure the Religion and Property of her
 “ Subjects, mention these Proceedings with-
 “ out some Degree of Warmth. And that
 “ she hoped all would agree with her, that
 “ Attempts to weaken her Authority, or to
 “ render the Possession of the Crown uneasy
 “ to her, could never be the means to
 “ strengthen the Protestant Succession. She
 “ wished it might be their Endeavours, as it
 “ should be hers, to unite their Differences,
 “ not by relaxing from the strictest Adhe-
 “ rence to the Constitution in Church and
 “ State, but by observing the Laws them-
 “ selves, and enforcing a due Obedience
 “ to them in others. That a long War
 “ had not only impoverished the Publick,
 “ (however some might have been Gain-
 “ ers by it,) but had also greatly affected
 “ Government it self; and recommend-
 “ ed to their Care, to improve the present
 “ Opportunity to lay a Foundation of
 “ Recovery. She concluded, that as she
 “ had the Concurrence of the last Parlia-
 “ ment in making the Peace, so she desired
 “ it

“ it might be the Honour of this to assist
 “ her in obtaining such Fruits, as might not
 “ only derive Blessings on the present Age,
 “ but even down to latest Posterity.”

THIS Speech, as it was indeed a very odd one, so it was strangely canvassed; and many could not help expressing their Astonishment, that the Ministry should thus have the Assurance to abuse the Queen in the Face of the whole World, by making her the passive Instrument of venting their Reproaches, against those who stood up to put a Stop to the imminent Dangers, the Nation was like to be plung'd into by their unhappy Conduct. But the greater was the Abuse, that by her Authority they ventured to impose so many Falshoods on the People, at the same time they pretended the utmost Regard for the Queen's Person and the Royal Dignity. Those whom the Queen called designing Men, who had sunk the publick Credit, whereby she said the Innocent had suffered; were well known to be the Persons who had the far greater share in that Credit, so that it was impossible they should be instrumental in doing any thing that might in the least tend to its Prejudice. And as to the Danger of the Protestant Succession, perhaps some of the Queen's Ministers might not be aware of it; which yet was somewhat strange, considering what visible Steps were taken to undermine it: for there was

The Queen's Speech canvass'd by her Subjects.

at this very time, several Persons under Prosecution in *Ireland*, for listig Men for the Pretender's Service, to be transported to *France*, and subsisted there by the *French* King; until the Minds of the People should be thoroughly disposed to receive him, or till some convenient Opportunity should offer of sending him with a sufficient Force into some part of *Britain*: and indeed nothing could contribute more to encourage the Pretender's Party, than to hear the Queen from the Throne give fresh Confirmation to the Scandal and Lyes which had been all along cast on those, who had been the truest Friends of the Protestant Succession. The Ministry, by conniving with Nonjurors, had brought the Nation to entertain such unlimited Schemes, in favour of the Regal Dignity, that it was looked upon as insulting the Queen, for any Peer or Member of the House of Commons, to make use of their Privilege or Birthright, in things that crossed the Designs of the Court, however arbitrary and destructive to the Nation. And the Court having link'd the Interest of the Church, with an arbitrary Power in the Crown, many who had unwarily imbib'd these Notions, thought it not their Business to enquire into any Steps taken by the Ministry, if once espoused from the Throne, lest they should be found wanting in their Duty to the Queen, and Regard for the Constitution.

The Interest of the Church link'd with an Arbitrary Power in the Crown.

stitution. By these means the Ministry procured Addresses from both Houses, full of seeming Loyalty and strict Adherence to the Constitution; but were such as have been usual at all times, when the worst Designs were on foot. The unsettled State of *Europe*, and the Views of the Court of *France* to enslave this Nation, which were very manifest at this time, might have been indeed sufficient to put all Men upon their Guard; and so much the more, that the Members of Parliament were worked upon to be of such a servile Temper: and therefore there was not wanting, as at other times of imminent Danger, many considerable Persons in both Houses, who had the Courage to oppose the Dangers that threatned their Country, and even to withstand all such Designs as were only the Effect of ill-got Power. Among the Lords, were the Earls of *Wharton*, *Cowper*, *Hallifax*, and *Nottingham*; the Duke of *Devonshire*, the Lord *Townshend*, and several other Dukes, Earls and Lords. Among the Bishops, Dr. *Wake* now Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Burnet* Bishop of *Sarum*, Dr. *Falbot* the present Bishop of *Durham*, and the Bishop of *Norwich*, with the major Part of that Reverend Bench. And among the Members of the House of Commons, Mr. *Walpole*, Gen. *Stanhope*, Mr. *Lechmere*, Mr. *Hambden*, Mr. *Pulteney*, the hon. Mr. *Compton*, Sir *Peter King*,

King, Sir Joseph Jekyll, and most of the Lawyers who opposed the Torrent of the Court-Measures : Among the Scots, Mr. Baillie of Jerviswood, Sir David Dalrymple, and others. These Gentlemen made unanswerable Speeches against the Proceedings, that were now set on foot by the Ministry. And tho' their good Sense was in most Things over-rul'd by a Majority of Voices; yet they not only gained their Point in some Affairs of the greatest Consequence to the Welfare of the Nation; but procured Delays and Interruptions in those which were carried against them. And the great Weight which they bore among their Countrymen, was not only a continual Bar upon the Ministry, but even upon the common Enemy; who otherwise would have soon put his Designs in execution, in favour of the Pretender, (in regard his Party had gathered great Strength) and an open Door was left by the Ministry, who had advised the Queen to disband most of the Forces; and especially those Regiments, (tho' out of their Term,) whose Commanders were the best affected to the Protestant Succession.

BUT while we are mentioning the Services of these great Men, who stood up so steddily in a time of imminent Danger; we ought not to forget the Behaviour of the lower House of Convocation, who, at this time, gave an Example to the Clergy, whom they

they represented, very different from what they had done in former Sessions, tho many of them could not follow it, as appeared by their future Behaviour. It was observable, the lower House never fell in with the Bishops, till Sir *William Dawes*, and some other Clergymen of that Party, were alarmed at the Dangers, which were now too visible to be hid; and as they took abundance of pains to press home upon them what was their own Apprehensions of things, so it made them forget their late Differences, and join with the Bishops in an Address, wherein they congratulated the Queen upon her recovery from her late Sicknels, and shewed their concern for the Dangers that threatened the Protestant Succession, without those extraordinary Encomiums on the Ministry and her Majesty's Administration, which had been by the Artifices of some restless Spirits joisted into their other Addresses. This happening to be presented upon the back of those abovementioned Addresses from the two Houses of Parliament, which expressed an intire Confidence in the Queen and her Ministry; it gave no small Surprise to many, and indeed it came upon the Court like a Thunderbolt, and the Concern the Ministry were in upon this unforeseen Event, was very manifest from the Queen's Answer, who thanked them for the concern they had expressed for her Health; but said, as they

An unexpected Address from the Clergy.

The Queen's Answer.

“ they were in a peculiar manner Servants
 “ of the God of Peace, she depended upon
 “ their exerting themselves in their respec-
 “ tive Stations to promote Peace, and the
 “ true Interest of our most Holy Religion.”

It was observable, that as often as the Succession was mentioned in any publick Address, it was always interpreted by the Court, as a factious Design, and a Distrust of the Queen; and the Ministry, in their private Cabals, as well as by their Agents abroad, did not spare representing the Clergy as factious Persons at this time; notwithstanding the outward regard they had hitherto shewed for their Interest. But tho the Clergy could not prevent what was done by some of their Brethren, who still went on in their high Career; yet the better sort among them did not, after this, shew any great Zeal for the Ministry, for they could not be ignorant how much they abused the Queen, and endanger'd the Church, while they were pretending to advance her Interest.

BUT the Court-Party became very much incens'd at the Opposition they met with on all hands, and began to be more impetuous in their Resentment, as is usual with Men who meet with Disappointments in the carrying on ill Designs; being resolv'd by all possible means to imprint infamous Characters on the most considerable Persons, who withstood them. But tho their main drift

drift was at General *Stanhope* and some other great Men; yet none happened to fall a Victim to their Rage, except Mr. *Steele*, who was elected a Member of Parliament this Year for the Borough of *Stockbridge*, and having published several Papers, particularly one named the *Crisis*, wherein he exposed the Dangers the Nation was brought under from the ill State of Affairs abroad, and the ill Conduct of the Ministry at home; and having from the Certainty of the Facts contained in these Papers set his Name to the *Crisis* and some other Pamphlets; he was thereupon called to an Account by the House of Commons, who voted his *Crisis* and his other Papers scandalous Libels; and tho the most considerable Members of the opposite Party stood up for him, and asserted all or most of the Facts mentioned in his Papers, to be true; yet he was expelled the House by a great Majority.

HOWEVER, the Court-Party began after this to lose some ground in both Houses, not only from the rapidity of the publick Measures, which every day created fresh Jealousies against the Lord *Bolingbroke* and some others of the Ministry; but also from the Behaviour of the *French King*, who had with much ado been prevailed on to make some slow Advances towards the Demolition of the Fortifications of *Dunkirk*; which were left in such a manner, as they might

The Court-Party lose ground.

might soon be repaired again. And that he might never be without some Place, whereby to infect this Kingdom, he caused a new Canal to be made at *Mardyke*, but a little way from *Dunkirk*, which being once fortified, would have equally answered all the purposes of the other, so annoy the Commerce of *Great Britain* and *Holland*. This being a manifest Evasion of the late Treaty of *Utrecht*, so it put many of the Court-Party to silence. Another thing was also very surprizing, and much alarm'd all thinking Men, viz. the Desire *France* had at this time to clap up a Peace with the Emperor upon much more advantageous Terms to the Empire, than when their Ministers were at *Utrecht*, notwithstanding, by the *French* King's late Conquests of *Landau* and *Finiberg*, he was in a condition to overrun the Empire. Most People began now to think, that the *French* King, whose Aim had been always after Conquest, could have nothing less in view by this Conduct, than to place the Pretender on the Throne of *Britain*, which, as it would be the likeliest way to promote the Designs of that Court, so their Enterprizes upon *Britain* would be the more easily accomplished, that *France* was at Peace with the Empire, and that the Succession to the Crown in the House of *Hanover* was not sufficiently guarantied. Besides this, some People also judg'd of the Affairs

The Nation
entertains
fresh Fea-
lousies of
the French

And yet
so far from
being

Affairs of *Great Britain*, from the Influence the Queen and her Ministers had among foreign Nations; which was indeed so small at this time, that the Emperor and other Princes of the Empire neglected the Offers the Queen made of her Mediation; nor were her Instances of any effect, either with the Court of *France*, or the Duke of *Lorraine*, to have the Pretender removed out of that Prince's Dominions.

THESE Circumstances of Affairs, as they carried no favourable Aspect towards this Kingdom, so many hereupon left the Court Interest and sided with the opposite Party in their endeavours for securing the Protestant Succession; which proved a great Mortification to the Lord *Bolingbroke* and some others of the Ministry, as on the other hand it gave no small Encouragement to those, who stood up for the true Interest of their Country. For the Lords having about this time taken the State of the Nation under their Consideration, the Earls of *Wharton*, *Nottingham*, and *Sunderland*; the Lord *Halifax*; and some other Peers, represented the dangerous Circumstances to which this Nation was exposed by the late Peace; and that they might be enabled to fall upon such Expedients as were proper to remove the just Fears the Nation was under; they moved to address the Queen, that the proper Officers might be directed to lay before

before the House, 1st, An Account of what Steps had been taken for removing the Pretender from the Dominions of the Duke of *Lorrain*, pursuant to the Addresses of both Houses of the preceeding Parliament, and what Answers had been given to the Queen

*An Address
of the House
of Peers in
Matters of
Importance.*

or any of her Ministers, by the Duke of *Lorrain* or any of his Ministers. 2^{dly}, An Account of the Negotiations of Peace; what Measures had been taken to render the Peace Universal, and what Obstructions her Majesty met therein. 3^{dly}, What Instances had been made for restoring the *Catalans* to their ancient Privileges, and all Letters relating thereunto. 4^{thly}, An Account of the Monies granted by Parliament since the Year 1710, to carry on the War in *Spain* and *Portugal*.

ABOUT the same time, a Letter was handed about, and afterwards printed; which was said to have come from the Duke of *Lorrain* to the Queen, very much in favour of the Pretender, expressing a great deal of Tendernefs and Concern for his Sufferings, and that he could not comply with her Majesty's Demands, as being inconsistent with his Honour and the Laws of Hospitality. This Letter made a great deal of noise, for as it was not directly own'd by the Duke of *Lorrain*, so neither was it deny'd by him; only our Ministers finding that many of their own Friends did not relish it, gave it out

to be a Forgery, tho it was observed they made no Enquiry into the Publication of it; so that most were of Opinion, it had been publish'd to make trial how the Nation would really stand affected to that Person's Interest. But this being represented in the House of Commons, as a very great Presumption, and what might be of dangerous Consequence, especially, since it was observ'd, that the Nonjurors and other disaffected Persons became confident and assuming upon it: therefore they moved, that the Papers concerning the Removal of the Pretender from *Lorrain*, might be laid before the House, and particularly, that a Letter from Dr. *Robinson*, the Queen's late Plenipotentiary at *Utrecht*, (who was now translated from the See of *Bristol* to *London* upon the Death of Dr. *Compton*,) to the Baron *de Begue*, the Duke of *Lorrain's* Resident in *Holland*, might be laid before the House. These things happen'd on the 17th of *March*, tho little satisfaction was given by the Court to the Demands of either House, until the last of that Month, when the Lords with white Staves, acquainted the House of Peers, that the Queen had ordered some of the Papers they had address'd for, to be laid before them; but that there were others, that would require some time before they could be transcribed. The Papers that were in readiness, being those relating

relating to the *Catalans*, the Lord *Whar-
ton* ask'd some of the Ministry, what Steps
had been taken for removing the Pretender
from *Lorrain*. And there being some Dif-
ficulties mentioned on the Duke of *Lorrain's*
part ; that Lord made answer to this effect,
“ That it was a very strange Change in her
“ Majesty's Affairs, after having reduced the
“ most powerful Monarch of the Age, who
“ threatned the Liberties of all *Europe*,
“ even so as to make him ready to submit
“ to any Terms she should think fit to grant
“ him ; and had got the Scales of *Europe* in
“ her own hands, so as to be in a Condition
“ to limit the Pretensions of most other Prin-
“ ces and States of *Europe* : And yet that
“ her Power was sunk so low within these
“ three Years, even without the Loss of one
“ Battle or Siege, that she was not in a Con-
“ dition to prevail with so petty a Prince as
“ the Duke of *Lorrain*, to remove from his
“ Dominions, a Person who pretended a
“ Right to her Crown.”

*Their Pro-
ceedings in
the Affair
of the Ca-
talans.*

AFTER this, the Lords proceeded to
the Affair of the *Catalans*, and the same
Peer who spoke last, with some other Lords,
urg'd, That as *Great Britain* had drawn in
that unhappy People to declare for the House
of *Austria*, and promised to support them ;
it was reasonable the Queen should at least
procure of the King of *Spain*, to have their
Liberties and Privileges restored to them.

This

This was judged so reasonable by the Majority of that House, that they voted an Address. "That the Queen would continue her Interposition in their behalf." But the Answer to this Address was somewhat extraordinary; for the Queen seem'd to lay the blame of their Misfortunes on the Emperor, who she said was more nearly concern'd: notwithstanding it was well known, that it was only in the King of *Spain's* power to give them any Relief, they being now that Prince's Subjects, and that the Emperor had not yet finish'd his Treaties with the Crown of *Spain*. Indeed the Queen made some Instances with King *Philip*, which she could not well avoid, on behalf of the *Catalans*, but in a very cold manner; besides that the *Spaniards*, who were in the Interest of King *Philip*, represented the *Catalans* as his Enemies, and they knew too well what a *Dilemma* the Court of *Great Britain* was brought into, to regard any thing that came from that Quarter, further than might be consistent with their own Schemes: so that the *Catalans* were entirely left to *Philip's* Mercy. However the Ministry made their Friends believe, that the Queen had acquitted her self sufficiently by her Instances with the King of *Spain*, and that the Blame lay only on the Emperor; and were not wanting to improve this Opportunity against those who

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stood

flood up for the *Catalans*, as a Set of Men who studied all possible means to make the Queen uneasy. This with the great Indifference many had about the Affair of the *Catalans*, as appearing somewhat foreign for the Nation to engage in, gave such a Turn to many who had begun to take part against the Court, that they even fell back in Matters of the nearest Importance.

THE Lords having on the 5th of *April*, proceeded to take the State of the Nation under their Consideration, there happened to be several smart Speeches made in relation to the Peace; which the Court-Party could not very well answer, not only as the Protestant Interest in *Germany* required the Concurrence of the Emperor, who was disgusted; but also as the Peace between the States-General and the Crown of *Spain*, was not as yet brought to a Conclusion.

Fresh Enquiries concerning the Danger of the Protestant Succession.

This was followed with other Enquiries, particularly concerning the Danger of the Protestant Succession; and the Court-Party being very forward to have this Debate set aside, moved to have the Question put, whether the Succession was in Danger under the Queen's Administration; which occasion'd a warm Debate, which lasted from two in the Afternoon till nine at Night. The Lords who opposed the Court, struggling very hard to have the Words *under her Majesty's Administration*, left out of the Question, in
Duty

Duty to the Queen, who they said was no ways concerned in it ; and that if any thing was done amiss, her Ministers alone were accountable for it. But the Majority being inclinable to justify the Ministry, or to have them screen'd under her Majesty's Authority, insisted that the words should stand, and that the Question should be agreeable to the Queen's Expression in her Speech from the Throne ; which was carried by twelve Voices, and would have no doubt been carried by a much greater Majority, had not Sir *William Dawes*, who succeeded Dr. *Sharp* in the Archbishoprick of *Tork*, voted in this important Affair, against the Court ; by whose Weight all the Bishops of the Court-Party, except three, voted on the same side ; as did also several other Lords by the Example of the Earl of *Anglesea*, who, tho he had for the most part been attached to the Court in all other Things, yet in this Affair he both spoke and voted against them ; and his Example was of the more force, that he had been bred up to the Law in his younger Years, and was reckoned a Man of Parts, and well versed in the Knowledge of the *English* Constitution.

BUT the Court-Party having, notwithstanding all this, carried their Point, the Lord *Hallifax* moved that an Address should be presented to the Queen, " That she would
 " renew her Instances for the speedy Remo-

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" val of the Pretender out of *Lorrain*, and
 " that she would be pleased, in conjunction
 " with the States-General, to enter into a
 " new Guaranty for the Protestant Succession in the House of *Hanover*." And it being absolutely necessary to have the Succession in that Family guaranty'd by others as well as by the States-General, this Lord also moved, " That the Queen should be intreated to call in such other Princes into it, as she should think proper." And the Earl of *Wharton* moved, the Queen might also be intreated in the same Address, to issue forth a Proclamation, promising a Reward to any Person who should apprehend the Pretender dead or alive. This Motion was back'd by the Duke of *Buckinghamshire*, who moved that the said Reward might be suitable to the Importance of that Service; whose Example had a very great Influence on many who were of the Court-Party, because the Duke was not only a Man of good Parts, but of an advanced Age and long Experience, and had been for the most part in the Interest of the Ministry, having himself been President of the Privy-Council, so that what he said upon this occasion was much regarded. And therefore this Address was carried without much difficulty. But the Lord *North and Grey*, and the Lord Treasurer *Oxford*, insisting that the Expressions dead or alive, might be looked upon as encouraging Assassination

An Address for a Proclamation against the Pretender.

nation and Murder, it was therefore with-
 out any great Opposition changed thus,
 “ That the Queen should issue out her Royal
 “ Proclamation, promising a Reward to
 “ any Person who should apprehend and
 “ bring the Pretender to Justice, in case he
 “ should land or attempt to land in *Great*
 “ *Britain* or *Ireland*, and that the Reward
 “ should be suitable to the Importance of
 “ the Service.”

BUT tho this Address was not greatly
 opposed by the Court-Party, yet some who
 had a more than ordinary Confidence in the
 Ministry, and perhaps might be blinded with
 Court-Favours, thought it a great deal more
 than was needful, and would be apt to dishearten
 their *Jacobite* Allies. But in regard, Baron
Schutz, Envoy Extraordinary from the
 Court of *Hanover*, was present, these only
 called out to adjourn, it being then very late.
 And when they were over-ruled in this, they
 moved that all the Strangers might be sent
 out of the House: but they lost their Aim in
 this also, for the said Baron, by reason of the
 great Interest his Master had in these Debates,
 was permitted to stand behind the Throne,
 with the Peers Sons. But tho the Ministry and
 their Friends had their Mouths in some mea-
 sure shut up, by the Baron's presence, yet they
 plainly declared their Sentiments by an egre-
 gious Abuse of the Queen, in making her op-
 pose the general Sense of her Peers, who in

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this

this Request did not exceed the Bounds of their Duty, for the Queen in her Answer to this Address, said, "It would be a real strengthening of the Succession in the House of Hanover, as well as a Support to her Government, that an end were put to those groundless Fears and Jealousies, which had been so industriously promoted: That she did not at this time see any occasion for such a Proclamation; but whenever she judged it necessary, she would give Orders to have one issued forth; and as to the other Particulars of their Address, she would give proper Directions therein."

The Queen expresses her dislike to it.

THIS Answer being reported to the House of Peers on the 13th, many of them were dissatisfy'd with it; and therefore it was propos'd to present another Address to the Queen, with the Reasons that had moved them to sue for the above-mentioned Proclamation. But that was oppos'd, and an Address of Thanks was voted; wherein, "They promised to concur with the Queen in all proper Measures for supporting her Government, and for strengthening the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover, as the only effectual means to put an end to those Fears and Jealousies, which had been so universally and industriously spread throughout the Kingdom." This Address was carried by a Majority of two Voices only, for the Court-Party were now become

become very watchful, to observe the Number and Disposition of the Members, in order, if possible, to have every thing contradicted that came from the opposite Party; that the Populace, who have no other way of knowing things, but by such publick Decisions, might be kept in the same Sentiments. Some of the Ministry were so much offended at every Step that was taken in favour of the House of *Hanover*; that they even prevailed on the Queen to forbid *Baron Schutz* from coming any more to Court, for no other reason, but because that Minister had, by the Advice of several great Men here, and by Instructions from *Hanover*, demanded a Writ for the Electoral Prince, as Duke of *Cambridge*, to sit in the House of Peers. They easily brought the Queen to this Resentment; by telling her, it was all one as setting her Coffin before her Eyes, and that in case that Prince came over, he would draw such a Train after him, as might bring her Majesty under Neglect. But the Envoy taking his leave of the Ministers, in order to return immediately to *Hanover*; Mr. *Bromley*, the late Speaker, who was made Secretary of State in the room of the Lord *Dartmouth*, went to Mr. *Kreyenberg*, the Resident, and told him, that he or any other Minister would be acceptable to the Queen; and lest a Matter of so great importance might alarm People, both at the

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Court

Court of *Hanover* and at home, a Messenger was immediately dispatched to that Court with Instructions to the *British* Envoy to excuse the Proceedings of the Ministry in this Affair; and a Writ was also ordered to be made out for the Prince.

BUT whatever the Ministry might design by this extraordinary Treatment of the Envoy, it had the Effect to heighten the Jealousy of those, who were the most firmly attach'd to the present Royal Family; who could not but look on this, as a very great Affront and Indignity offered to it; and therefore they became more strenuous than ever in opposing the Designs of the Ministry, tho it was difficult for them to carry their Point, by reason of the Instability of several Members of both Houses, who were sometimes moved one way and sometimes another. An Address was now proposed in the House of Lords, whereto the Commons should also be desired to give their Concurrence.

A Joint-
Address of
both Houses
in approba-
tion of the
publick
Measures.

The purport of this Address was, " To acknowledge the Queen's Goodness to her People, in delivering them by a safe, honourable and advantageous Peace with *France* and *Spain*, from the Burden of a consuming Land-War, unequally carried on, and become at last impracticable; And to intreat her Majesty to pursue such Measures as she should judge necessary to compleat the Settlement of *Europe* on the

“ the Principles laid down in her Majesty’s
“ Speech.” The Court was in hopes by
this Address not only to make the World
believe that this was the Sense of the whole
Nation, and that they approved of all the
Queen had done in her publick Negotiations,
but also that it would be the means to put
a stop to all future Inquiries into their Trans-
actions : but it met with very great Opposi-
tion in both Houses, there being many, who
deny’d flatly, that the Peace was safe and
honourable, and not only exposed all the
bad Steps that had been taken in conducting
this grand Affair; but in particular, they
found great fault with the Treaty of Com-
merce with *Spain*, which as yet was not
brought upon the Stage. Some also excepted
against this Expression, *That the carrying
on the War was become impracticable*;
and asserted, that it was both false and dis-
honourable to the Nation, because there had
been more Money rais’d the three last Years
that the present Ministry were come into
Power, than had been granted any three
Years during the War; and if it had been o-
therwise, that the State of the Nation was
as they had represented it; those, who were
at the Helm, should have had so tender a re-
gard for the Honour of their Country, as
not to expose her weakness in so publick a
manner, which could have only this effect,
to render *Great Britain* very despicable in

the Eyes of Foreign Nations, and encourage the *French* King to proceed with the more Assurance in his Designs against this Kingdom, he having no other way so feasible to recover his Affairs. But this was nothing but the winding up of what the Ministry had all along aimed at, *viz.* to have all their Proceedings confirmed by a joint Address from both Houses of Parliament, especially with relation to the Peace, as being absolutely necessary to their Vindication; for as the monied Men had been backward in giving them Credit, both from a Doubtfulness of their Honesty and Sufficiency, which obliged them to raise the Supplies from such things, as fell most sensibly on the Poor; so it was easy enough to impose on the Generality of People, who are ignorant of Affairs, that if the War had continued any longer, the Nation must have been ruined and undone. Therefore this Address was designed to confirm all the Delusions the People had been led into concerning the State of the Nation, and to keep them from giving Credit to the Charge, which the opposite Party brought against the Ministry in relation to the Peace, and other Circumstances of their Administration.

*The Design
of this
Address.*

BUT Mr. *Walpole*, General *Stanhope*, and some other Members of the House of Commons were so active upon this extraordinary Proceeding of the Lords, that they
had

had even the Influence to stop that Address, till they had discussed the other Matters, which were now before them, relating to the Protestant Succession; for which, a Committee had been appointed. Mr. *Bromley*, Secretary of State, endeavoured to prove that the Succession was not in danger under her Majesty's Administration; but Mr. *Walpole* with the greatest freedom asserted, that the Protestant Succession was in imminent Danger, not from the Queen, but from the dubious Conduct of some of the Ministry; and therefore insisted, that the Queen might not be mentioned in the Debate. After Mr. *Walpole*, and some others had given unanswerable Reasons to support the Question, the Court-Party being apprehensive lest it should go against them, endeavoured to drop it. But Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, the Sir Thomas Hanmer's Speaker, stood up and said, "He was sorry to see that Endeavours were used Speech concerning the Danger of the Protestant Succession. to wave the Question and stop their Mouths; but he was of Opinion, this was the proper and perhaps the only time for Patriots to speak. That a great deal of pains had been taken to screen some Persons, and in order to that, to make them overlook the Dangers, that threatened the Queen, the Nation, and the Protestant Succession. That for his part, he had all the Honour and Respect imaginable for her Majesty's Ministers; but that

" he

" he owed still more to his Country than to
 " any Minister. That in this Debate, so
 " much had been said to prove the Succes-
 " sion to be in danger, and so little to make
 " out the contrary, that he could not but be-
 " lieve the first; and thereupon, he took
 " notice of Sir *Patrick Lawless* being suf-
 " fered to come over, and admitted to an
 " Audience of the Queen." This Sir *Pa-*
trick Lawless was one of those, who fol-
 lowed King *James* the Second into *France*,
 and afterwards went into *Spain*, and not-
 withstanding he was outlaw'd, had leave a-
 bout this time to return privately into *Eng-*
land upon some secret Intrigues then on foot
 between some of our Ministers and the Court
 of *France*, as some say, which procured
 him the favour of an Audience of the Queen:
 others give out, that his Business here, was
 to solicit a Jointure for the Queen Dow-
 ger, Widow of the late King *James*, and
 that the Queen ordered all the Arrears to be
 paid. But whatever was the Cause of his
 coming hither, it gave no small jealousy;
 in so much that the Speaker himself could
 not avoid taking notice of it. But notwith-
 standing the great honesty of this Speech
 from a Person, who was well known to have
 as great a regard for the Queen as any Man,
 and that it was chiefly from the good Opi-
 nion some Members in the Court Interest
 entertained of that Gentleman's Integrity,
 that

that the Bill of Commerce with *France* was rejected, and with this, will always be remembered to his Honour: yet the Majority in that House, were now become so much hardened against all Reason and good Sense, that they even grew regardless of the greatest Examples. "For they resolved, that the Protestant Succession was not in danger under her Majesty's Administration." And lest they should be thought to fall short of the Lords in point of Duty and Submission to the Queen, (or rather to her Ministers,) they also resolved, "To return Thanks for the Instances she had used for removing the Pretender out of *Lorrain*, humbly desiring her Majesty to renew her Instances for his speedy Removal from thence."

THE Chairman having reported these two Resolves, to the House the next Day; and the first being read twice, Mr. *Walpole* took the Opportunity to applaud the publick Spirit the Speaker had shewn the Day before, whose Merit he said ought to have had great Weight in that House, besides what had been undeniably advanced to shew the present Danger of the Protestant Succession; but that after this he despaired to see Truth and Justice prevail, where a Majority of Votes could be procured against the clearest Reason. Mr. *Lechmere* and General *Stanhope* were no less plain in declaring their Sentiments concerning the Conduct of those Members

Mr. Walpole and others oppose the Proceedings of the Court.

Members, who were so submissive as to give up the Interest of their Country, to the arbitrary Designs of some bad Instruments about the Queen. And Mr. *Stanhope* in particular said, that it was universally acknowledged that it had been the *French* King's Intention to set the Pretender upon the Throne of this Kingdom. That it was still his Interest, and was now more than ever in his power to do it : but notwithstanding all that could be said to put by these Resolves, they were carried without a Division. And as soon as they had an Answer to this Address, they concurred with the Lords in their Address, which was presented to the Queen on the 24th, who returned this kind Answer to it ; “ That the State of the publick Affairs “ in *Europe*, as well as the Necessities of “ her own Kingdoms, had obliged her to enter into Negotiations of Peace, and notwithstanding all Obstructions and Difficulties, she had brought it to a happy Conclusion. “ That she esteem'd this Address as “ the united Voice of her affectionate and “ loyal Subjects, and returned them the “ heartiest Thanks that could be given by a “ Sovereign, who desired nothing more than “ to see her People safe and flourishing.” This was so well calculated to answer all the Designs of those who were got most into the Queen's Favour, that many began now to express their Concern and Pity for the

the Queen, who was even so far imposed on, as to give her hearty Approbation to those Things, which if she had liv'd but a little longer must certainly have opened her own Eyes, when it would have been too late to prevent the Evils that might have befallen her and the Nation.

THESE and the other extraordinary The Queen and her Ministry condemn'd a- Proceedings of the Court, brought the Queen and her Ministers under the greatest Contempt in all Parts abroad. As for the Emperor, he had given Commission to Prince *Eugene*, the latter End of the preceding Year, to treat with the *French* Plenipotentiaries at *Radstat*, as has been observed; and this Year, the Treaty for concluding all Matters was set on foot at *Baden*; where the Princes and States of the Empire committed their several Interests to the Emperor, that the Queen of *Britain* might have no colour to send a Minister thither. Upon which, the States-General also forbore sending a Minister to that Place; but had several Conferences with the Baron *Heems*, the Imperial Minister at the *Hague*, concerning their Barrier and other Matters, with which they acquainted the Earl of *Strafford*; particularly, that the said Baron told them, the Emperor was desirous all things relating to the said Barrier, might be agreed to in *Holland*, and that a Minister might afterwards be sent from thence to *Vienna*, if they should think

think well of it, to put an end to that Affair. But tho the ill Conduct of the *British* Court, had brought all this Contempt upon the Queen; yet as the Emperor's Project of drawing this Treaty to *Vienna*, gave some Jealousy, that the *Dutch* had a hand in the contrivance, and the rather, because they complied so far with the Court of *Vienna*, as to forbear sending a Minister to *Baden*, so it gave no small Offence to our Ministers, who thereupon gave Orders to the Earl of *Stratford* to be very peremptory with the States. And upon this Conference concerning the Barrier-Treaty with the Emperor, he acquainted them, " That their High Mighti-

The Ministry
displeas'd
with the
Dutch.

" nesses were Guarantees of the Protestant
" Succession, as well as the Queen was Guar-
" rantee of their Barrier, and the said Suc-
" cession would stand good and have its ef-
" fect as it should come in order; but the
" Queen would never suffer any Laws to be
" imposed on her on that account. That
" the Queen was interested in the Affair
" of the Barrier, as well as the States, and
" therefore, no Step ought to be taken in
" it without her Participation. That the
" drawing that Treaty to *Vienna*, looked
" as if they had a mind to exclude the
" Queen, and that he had Orders to declare
" to them by his Instructions, that in such
" a Case her Majesty would forthwith re-
" nounce all Engagements with them."

AS

AS this Contempt of the Queen and her Ministers among the Confederates carried no good Aspect, so while every one was thus looking carefully to their own Interest, *Britain* was in a strange Condition, divided at home, and without Friends abroad. At the same time, the *French* were in the greatest hurry imaginable to finish the Canal at *Mardyke*, The Nations in a deplorable Condition. having employed a vast number of Men to have it done with all possible expedition, as if it had been designed for some extraordinary and sudden Enterprize. Besides this, they had by their good Agreement with the Court of *Spain*, which was now altogether guided by *French* Counsels, ingross'd most of the Trade to the *Spanish West-Indies*, that there was but little room left for the *South-Sea* Company, or any other of the *British* Subjects to go into those Parts. The *French* were also so careful to improve their Fishing-Trade in *North-America*, that an Edict was made to free them from certain Duties for the space of ten Years; all which things created great uneasiness in the City of *London* and the Trading Towns of *England*. So that the Court Party had only one great Project to put in execution to render themselves popular, and to establish a kind of arbitrary Power, which was to be done under the Colour of Zeal for the Church of *England*.

ALL this while the Hatred which the High-Church Party had to the Dissenters suffer'd no Abatement ; for there were never wanting many Engines in all Parts of the Kingdom to keep that Fire continually burning. Most of the Clergy looked upon their Separation as proceeding from a Contempt of them, and such of the Laity as were even without the outward Profession of practical Religion, who are the most numerous in all Establishments, and who are remarkable for being the blindest Bigots, and oftentimes the greatest Patrons of Persecution, did not relish the Example some Dissenters gave of Sobriety, but upbraided them as Knaves and Hypocrites ; and in this the Nonjurors and Papists gave a helping hand, that they might prevent an Union and good Understanding between them and the Established Church, the hindring of which was of great importance to their Cause. And as the Enemies to the Dissenters were not only very numerous, but for the most part attached to the Court ; so a Bill was prepared, to prevent the Growth of Schism, and to provide a further Security for the Church of *England* ; which was only the old Bill against Occasional Conformity revived under a new Title, more suited to the Genius of the present Times, which accounted all Dissenters Schismatics, with the addition of some Hardships and Severities, which were not in those other Bills that had been

*A Bill to
prevent the
Growth of
Schism.*

been cast out in former Parliaments. By the Toleration and Test Acts, all Persons, who enjoy'd any Employment in the Government, were obliged at their first entrance on such Employment, to communicate with the Church of *England*; which few Dissenters refused: and therefore the Bills against Occasional Conformity offered in King *William's* Reign, and in the beginning of the Queen's, were designed only to exclude the Dissenters from publick Offices; but by this new Bill, it was provided, That all those, who should enjoy any Office or Employment in the Government, should henceforward join in constant Communion with the established Church, and that they might have it in their power to exclude some, who were already in Offices, and hinder others for the future, none were to be received into Office or Employment, but such as could make it appear, they had at least for one whole Year before conformed constantly to the established Church. This Bill was also to extend to Justices of the Peace, Mayors, and other Magistrates of Corporations, who were even not to enjoy these Offices, but upon the Terms above-mentioned. The Dissenters were also to be restrained from teaching School, or officiating as Tutors to instruct Pupils in any Family, without the Licence of the Archbishop or Bishop

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of

of the Diocess where they resided, and the Justices of the Peace had Power by this Act to give a final Determination in all Cases relating thereunto, tho contrary to the Rights of the House of Peers. It was also to extend to *Ireland*, notwithstanding the great number of Papists in that Kingdom,

THIS Bill was brought in by Sir *William Windham*, and supported by Secretary *Bromley* and many other Persons of Note in the Court Interest, and was so well received by most of the Members, that it was thrice read in one Day. For the Clergy had filled most Peoples Heads with strange Sentiments concerning Separation from the established Church, as being absolutely unlawful; and abundance of Pamphlets were also writ upon the same Subject, with a very bad Design to encrease our Divisions; whereby, many were so far abused, that they looked upon it as a good and necessary Service to their Country to bring the Dissenters under all the Restraints of this Act. The Occasional Conformity of Dissenters was also represented in the worst Colours that could be put upon it, so that the Stream ran very powerfully against them. But some of our Ministers had further Views in this Act, than perhaps many of their own Friends imagined; for when Sir *Peter King*, Mr. *Walpole*, Sir *Joseph Jekyll*, General *Stanhope*,

hope, and several other Persons of Note, made it appear by undeniable Reasons, that the Church was in no Danger from the Dissenters; and that therefore there was no Oc-
 casion for any such Restrictions to be laid upon them; ^{*It is opposed in the House of Commons.*} that the Dissenters had rather decreas'd than encreas'd by the Lenity of the Laws since the Revolution; That few of them were in publick Employments, and that any Severities towards them would be the means to weaken the Protestant Interest, and rather endanger than support the Church: When these things were clearly argued, some Members of the opposite Side offered to drop this Bill, provided the House would consent to bring in another Bill to hinder the Dissenters from voting in Elections, or being themselves chosen Members of Parliament: which was not only shewn to be a very great hardship upon the Dissenters, who had so great a share in the Publick; but that it might be an Injury to the Protestant Succession, for which the Dissenters were known to be very zealous. And therefore all these Severities, as they savoured of Persecution, and were perfectly agreeable to the Sentiments of Papists and Nonjurors, so they were justly interpreted as having a direct Tendency to promote the Cause of the Pretender: ^{*The evil Tendency of this Bill.*} especially since by this Act the Dissenters, who make up a considerable Part of the Protestants in this Kingdom, were to be excluded

cluded even from all inferior Offices, and by that means rendered incapable of the least publick Service, in case any Attempts should be made in favour of the Pretender; which was very much fear'd by reason of the great Preparations in his behalf in *France*, the enlisting Men publickly for his Service in *Ireland*, and privately in this Kingdom; the general Disaffection that appeared among the inferior sort, and among some of no mean Account, and the restless Endeavours of disaffected Persons, to bring their Friends or the most worthless sort of People into all Offices in the several Towns and Counties of *England*. But especially, that it was evident, some of the Queens chief Ministers had taken such bold Steps in giving up the Interest of the Nation to *France*, that nothing less than such a Revolution, could screen them from the just Resentment of their Countrymen.

Several
Lords speak
against it.

THIS Act met with no less Opposition in the House of Peers, where the Lords *Cowper*, *Wharton*, and many others of the Nobility, spoke against it. The Lord *Cowper* said, "Such a Bill would be so far from answering the End proposed by the Title thereof, that on the contrary it would be the Means to introduce Ignorance, and its usual concomitant Superstition and Irreligion, because in many Country Towns Reading, Writing, and Grammar Schools, were

“ were chiefly supported by Dissenters, not
 “ only for the Benefit of their own Chil-
 “ dren, but likewise for the Children of
 “ poor Churchmen; so that the suppress-
 “ sing of these Schools would in some
 “ measure suppress the reading of the Scrip-
 “ tures. He said the very bringing in of
 “ this Bill was injurious to the Queen, after
 “ the solemn Declaration she had made,
 “ that she would inviolably maintain the
 “ Toleration: That the Queen had de-
 “ clared it to be the Glory of her Reign;
 “ to follow the Steps of Queen *Elizabeth*;
 “ but her giving the Royal Assent to this
 “ Bill, would be quite contrary to that
 “ Queen’s Government, which had not only
 “ entertain’d and protected the reformed
 “ *Wallaons*, who took Sanctuary in her
 “ Dominions, from the *Spanish* Inquisition;
 “ but had the publick Exercise of their Re-
 “ ligion likewise allowed them, and caused
 “ a Clause to be inserted in their favour in
 “ the Act of Uniformity, whereby that wise
 “ and glorious Queen greatly increas’d the
 “ Wealth of the Nation; the *Wallaons*
 “ having introduced and settled the Woollen
 “ Manufactures, which are the best Branch
 “ of the national Trade. That the Pro-
 “ tection and Encouragement the late King
 “ *William* and Queen *Mary* did give to
 “ the *French* Protestants, and which had
 “ since been continued to them by the
 U 3 Queen,

" Queen, had proved no less advantageous
 " to *Great Britain*, by improving divers
 " Manufactures; and thereby increasing
 " the Wealth and Strength of the Nation :
 " And as the Ministry had for three Years
 " past taken away the Pension of 15,000 *l.*
 " a Year allowed by Parliament in the Civil
 " List, towards the Maintenance of their
 " Ministers and Poor, it would therefore be
 " very hard to deprive them of the means
 " of Subsistence, either by keeping Schools,
 " or teaching in private Families."

THE Lord Viscount *Townsend*, who
 had lived sometime in *Holland*, took notice,
 " That the Wealth and Strength of that great
 " and powerful Republick, consisted in the
 " Number of its Inhabitants; but that he
 " was persuaded if the States should cause
 " the Schools of any one Sect tolerated in
 " the United Provinces to be shut up, they
 " would be soon as thin of People as *Sweden*
 " or *Spain*, where the one is depopula-
 " ted with the Inquisition, and the other
 " with the rigid Laws, in favour of *Luther-*
 " *anism*."

THE Earl of *Nottingham* said, " he
 " had formerly been of opinion that the
 " Occasional Conformity of Dissenters was
 " dangerous to the Church, and therefore
 " he ever promoted the Bill to prevent it.
 " But he believed the Church of *England*
 " had now that Security, which would pre-
 " serve

“ serve her from all Danger, and therefore
 “ he thought himself in Conscience ob-
 “ liged to oppose so barbarous a Law, which
 “ tended to deprive the Parents of their
 “ natural Right of educating their own
 “ Children, That he had observed both
 “ from History and Experience, that all the
 “ Persecutions that had been raised in Eng-
 “ land against those term’d Schismatics,
 “ originally proceeded from and tended to
 “ favour Popery.”

THE Earl *Wharton*, who was very zealous in this Debate, and had but a mean Opinion of the Policies and Designs of the great Men, who promoted this Bill; said,
 “ he was agreeably surpris’d to find some
 “ Persons of a sudden, were become so religious as to set up for Patrons of the
 “ Church, but that he could not but wonder that Persons who had been educated
 “ in Dissenting Academies, whom he
 “ could point at, and whose Tutors he could
 “ name, should appear the most forward
 “ in suppressing them. That this would be
 “ but an indifferent Return for the Benefits
 “ the Publick had received from those
 “ Schools, which had bred these great Men,
 “ who had made so glorious a Peace, and
 “ Treaties that excuse themselves, who
 “ had obtain’d so great Advantages in Commerce, and paid the publick Debts of the
 “ Nation: so that he could see no reason

“there was to suppress those Academies,
 “unless it were from an Apprehension,
 “that they might still produce greater Ge-
 “nius’s, that should drown the Merits of
 “those great Men. After this, he took no-
 “tice of the Unreasonableness of this Bill,
 “at a time when *France* was prosecuting
 “the Design he had long since laid, when
 “not only secret Practices were us’d to im-
 “pose a popish Pretender on these Realms,
 “but Men were publicly insisted for his
 “Service. He said, it was melancholly and
 “surprising, that at that very time, a Bill
 “should be brought in, which could not
 “but tend to divide Brethrens, and conse-
 “quently to weaken their Interests, and
 “hasten their Ruin; but that the Wonder
 “would cease, when they should consider
 “what Madmen were the Contrivers and
 “Promoters of it. He also excepted against
 “the Word *Schism*, with which he said the
 “Frontispiece of this Bill was set off, and said
 “it was strange they should call that *Schism*
 “in *England*; which is the established Re-
 “ligion in *Scotland*; and therefore if the
 “Lords who represented the Nobility of
 “that Part of *Great Britain* were for this
 “Bill, he hoped that to be even with *Eng-
 “land*, and consistent with themselves, they
 “would move for the bringing in another
 “Bill to prevent the Growth of *Schism* in
 “their own Country.

THIS

THIS Great Man had been instrumental in throwing out several other pernicious Bills, by turning their deform'd and most shameful Parts to open View, even when himself and others had used the most convincing Arguments to little purpose against them; but now there was such a prevailing Infatuation in both Houses, that neither the plainest Reason, nor a Declaration of Facts supported by the sharpest Wit, could avail any thing to prevent its passing into an Act. The Dissenters gave in their Reasons against it, which were afterwards printed. The Quakers did the like. The *Dutch* and *French* Protestants laid also their Grievances before the Lords, so far as the Bill affected them, and a Representation was sent from the *Scots* Ministers, in behalf of their Countrymen settled in *England* and *Ireland*: but some of these Ministers being not against the *English* Liturgy, their Representation was therefore very ill received by the Court-Party. However the chief Promoters of this Bill had little or nothing to say for it, more than was expressed in the Title, that it was to prevent the growth of Schism, by hindering the Dissenters from endangering the establish'd Church, by their private Academies and Seminaries, which they represented as the Nurseries of Schism: Yet it was carried in the House of Commons by a Majority of 237 Votes against 126. It was likewise carried in the House of Lords, tho the Votes in that House were

28 Peers
and 5 Bi-
shops dis-
sent from
this Act.

were pretty near equal: but several Peers, to the Number of 28, entered their Dissent from this Act, and were chiefly the same, who protested against the Duke of *Ormond's* Orders, and the Terms of Peace offered by *France*, whose Names have been already inserted. Five of the Bishops also joined with these Lords, most of that Reverend Bench having absented themselves upon this Debate. Their Reasons were in substance as follows.

THAT they could not apprehend (as the Bill recited,) that great Danger might ensue from the Dissenters to the Church and State. First, "Because by Law, no Dissenter was in any Station, that could be supposed to render him dangerous."

SECONDLY, "Since the several Sects of Dissenters differ as much from each other, as from the established Church, they could never form of themselves a National Church, nor have any Temptation to set up any one Sect among them: for in that case, all, that the other Sects could expect, was only a Toleration; and as they enjoy'd that already, it was therefore their Interest to support the established Church against any, who would attempt to destroy it."

THIRDLY, "If nevertheless the Dissenters were dangerous, Severity could not be so proper and effectual a Method to reduce them to the Church, as a Cha-
ritable

“ ritable Indulgence, which was manifest
 “ from Experience, there having been more
 “ Dissenters reconciled to the Church since
 “ the Act of Toleration, than in all the
 “ time since the Act of Uniformity.

FOURTHLY, “ If Severity could be
 “ supposed ever to be of Use, this could
 “ not be a proper time, while the Nation
 “ was threatened with much greater Dangers
 “ to Church and State, against which the
 “ Protestant Dissenters had join’d, and were
 “ still willing to do the same; wherefore
 “ they ought not to be driven from espou-
 “ sing the common Interest, by enforcing
 “ the Laws against them in things that must,
 “ above all others, most sensibly touch
 “ them, *viz.* the Education of their Chil-
 “ dren.

FIFTHLY, “ This must be the more grie-
 “ vous to Dissenters, because it was what they
 “ little expected from the Members of the
 “ established Church, after the Act of Tol-
 “ eration, and the repeated Declarations
 “ from the Throne in former Parliaments
 “ against Persecution, as being the peculiar
 “ Badge of the *Roman* Church; which yet
 “ had not been retaliated, even upon Pa-
 “ pists, the Laws against them having been
 “ the effects and just punishment of Treas-
 “ ons, committed against the State; but
 “ this was not so much as pretended against
 “ the Dissenters, whose Zeal for the Pro-
 “ testant

" testant Succession, was very conspicu-
 " ous.

SIXTHLY, " In all the Instances of
 " making Laws, or of a rigid Execution of
 " the Laws against Dissenters, it was very
 " remarkable, that the Design was to wea-
 " ken the Church, and to drive them into
 " one common Interest with the Papists;
 " which was the Method suggested by Po-
 " pish Councils, to prepare them for the
 " two successive Declarations in the time
 " of King *Charles* the Second, and the
 " following one issued out by King *James*,
 " to ruin the Civil and Religious Rights of
 " the Subjects of this Kingdom. And they
 " could not think that the Arts and Cou-
 " trivances of the Papists to subvert the
 " Church, were proper Means to preserve
 " it; especially at a time; when the Nation
 " was in more Danger of Popery than ever,
 " by the Designs of the Pretender, suppor-
 " ted by the mighty Power of the *French*
 " King, and great Numbers in this King-
 " dom, who were professedly in the Pre-
 " tender's Interest.

SEVENTHLY, " But if the Dissen-
 " ters should not be provoked by this Seve-
 " rity to join in the Destruction of their
 " Country; yet it was justly to be feared,
 " they might be drawn by this Bill from
 " *England*, to the great Prejudice of her
 " Manufactures; and as the Nation gain'd
 " them

“ them by the Persecution abroad, so it
“ might again lose them by the like Proceed-
“ ings at home.

EIGHTHLY, “ The Miseries they appre-
“ headed here, were greatly enhanc’d by
“ extending this Bill to *Ireland*, where the
“ Consequences might be fatal, the Num-
“ ber of Papists there, far exceeding the
“ Protestants of all Denominations, and the
“ Dissenters being to be treated as Enemies
“ or Persons dangerous to that Church and
“ State, notwithstanding they always had,
“ and still would join with the established
“ Church in their common Defence against
“ the common Enemy of their Religion,
“ might cause great Divisions. And the
“ Protestants being thus unnecessarily divi-
“ ded, and the Army in that Kingdom ve-
“ ry much reduced, seem’d to them, to be
“ expos’d to the Danger of another Mas-
“ sacre, and the Protestant Religion in dan-
“ ger of being extirpated. And it was al-
“ so to be feared, that the *Scots* in *Britain*,
“ whose National Church is Presbyterian,
“ would not so heartily and zealously join
“ with *England*, when they saw those of
“ the same Nation, same Blood and Reli-
“ gion, so hardly treated. And lastly, what
“ would yet be more grievous to the Prote-
“ stant Dissenters in *Ireland*, that while the
“ Popish Priests were register’d, and had the
“ free Exercise of their Religion by Law ;
“ the

“ the Dissenters were so far from enjoying
 “ the like Indulgence, that the Laws were
 “ by this Bill enforced against them.”

*The Nation
 alarm'd
 with new
 Dangers.*

BUT tho these and the many other undeniable Reasons given against this Bill in both Houses, could by no means divert the Rapidity of the Court-Measures; yet as such hot Proceedings are not always without their good Effects, even when they are designed for evil Purposes, so it was not long after this, when a new Scene was opened, which in some measure turn'd the Stream: for the Pretender's Friends had taken such Encouragement from this Act, as being made in favour of their Cause, that they began now to be so open and barefac'd in what they did, that the Ministry could not without hazard to themselves, avoid taking notice of them. They had continued all this time lifting Men in *Ireland*, and notwithstanding three Men had been hang'd in *Dublin*, viz. *John Rily*, *Alexander Bourk*, and *Martin Carrol*, upon that account; yet so great was their Insolence, that being in many places protected by the Papists, they sent over two Men of the Name of *Kelly* and some other Agents into *England* to enlist Men here; who being apprehended and sent to Prison, the Ministry could not prevent the Privy Council, (who indeed were not all of one stamp) from advising the Queen to issue forth her Proclamation, according

to

to the late Address of the House of Lords, for apprehending the Pretender, the Parliament being still sitting. This was accordingly done within a few Days after the passing of the Schism Act: and in this Proclamation, a Reward of 5000*l.* was promised by the Queen to any Person, who should bring the Pretender to Justice. The late Debates concerning the Dangers that threatened the Nation by the Schism Act, were not altogether without their Weight. For an Address was immediately procured in the House of Commons with a Promise of a Reward of 100000*l.* out of the first Aids of Parliament to be added to the 5000*l.* the Queen had offered by her Proclamation, to the Person, who should perform so signal a Service to the Nation. Neither were the Lords behind hand with the Commons, for they also presented an Address of Thanks at the same time, in which, " They took
 " Occasion to repeat their humble Request
 " and Advice to the Queen, that as her Instances for removing the Pretender from
 " *Lorrain*, had hitherto been ineffectual;
 " she would therefore be pleased in the speediest manner to renew her Alliances with
 " the Princes of *Europe*, and to invite them, particularly the Emperor and the King of
 " *Prussia*, into the Guaranty of the Protestant Succession. And since the Papists
 " and Nonjurors were grown so insolent, as
 " not

*A Proclamation
 procured
 against the
 Pretender.*

*An Address
 for a Guaranty of
 the Protestant
 Succession.*

“ not only to support the Pretender’s Claim
 “ by their Writings and Discourses, but
 “ also by traitorously inlisting Men into his
 “ Service, and sending them into *France*;
 “ they humbly beseeched her to issue out
 “ her Proclamation, with a Reward to those,
 “ who should bring to Justice any of the
 “ Persons who had either inlisted Men for
 “ the Pretender, or the Persons inlisted,
 “ or such as should hereafter offer to list or
 “ be inlisted in *Great Britain* or *Ireland*.
 “ And they further prayed, that she would
 “ give her Orders to all Magistrates and
 “ Officers; to have the Laws put in execu-
 “ against Papists and other disaffected Per-
 “ sons, by taking from them their Horses
 “ and Arms, and confining them to their
 “ Habitations as usual. This Address was
 “ approved, no one offering to oppose it,
 “ and presented to the Queen on the 25th
 “ of *June*, who gave it a favourable An-
 “ swer.”

*The Court
 in a great
 Consterna-
 tion.*

THE Courtiers were so much struck
 with this unforeseen Event, and the fire-
 rmous Endeavours that were now made
 in both Houses to secure the Nation by a
 vigorous Prosecution of the Laws against
 Papists and Nonjurors, and other disaf-
 fected Persons, that they began to slacken
 very much in their usual Zeal for the Mini-
 stry; which gave others a fit Opportunity to
 inquire more freely into all their Miscarria-
 ges:

ges: so that the Lords, on the second of *July*, took the Treaty of Commerce with *Spain* under their Consideration. And this Affair being opened by the Earl of *Nottingham*, that Lord used several Arguments to prove that no Trade could be carried on by our Merchants into the Dominions of *Spain* without a manifest Loss. To support this, he produced a Letter from an *English* Factor in *Spain*, to his Principals, and was seconded by the Lord *Cowper*. There was scarce any of the Court-Party could say much in defence of this Treaty; only the Lord *Bolingbroke* being the chief Person concerned in it, was obliged to stand up for it, tho' what he had to alledge in its favour, was judg'd to be of little moment. He excepted against the abovementioned Letter, which he would fain have persuaded the House was a forged one. But both he, and those few of the Ministry, who durst venture to second him, were soon put to silence by the Testimonies of Sir *William Hodges*, Mr. *Mead*, and about Thirty other eminent Merchants concerned in the *Spanish* Trade; who being called into the House of Lords, all of them declared, that unless the three explanatory Articles were abolished, they could not carry on a Trade with *Spain* without losing 20 or 25 *per Cent.* and some of these Merchants being Persons, who had in many other Things, fallen in with the Court Measures,

The Treaty of Commerce with Spain before the Lords.

Declarations of the Merchants concerning it.

sures, it added the greater Weight to all that had been objected against this Treaty: so that the Lords resolved unanimously to address the Queen, "That all the Papers relating to that Treaty, might be laid before them, with the Names of the Persons, who had advised her to make that Treaty." On the *Monday* following the Lords with white Staves reported the Queen's Answer: "That she being given to understand, that the three explanatory Articles were not detrimental to the Trade of her Subjects, had consented to their being ratify'd." But the Queen making no mention of the Persons, who had advised her to it, the coming at the knowledge of whom, was their chief Design; several Lords excepted against the Queen's Answer, as unsatisfactory: and among others, the Earl of *Wharton* and the Lord *Halifax* alleged, if so little Regard was shewn to the Addresses and Applications of that august Assembly, they had no Business in that House. And it was moved, to draw up a Representation to her Majesty, to lay before her the insuperable Difficulties, of carrying on a Trade with *Spain*: And likewise that the House should insist on the Queen's naming the Persons, who had advised her to ratify the three explanatory Articles. The first was agreed to by the whole House: but the Majority, out of respect to some Persons in

in the Ministry, warded off the latter. And the Queen, in Answer to the Lords Representation, said, "It had been her Care to procure all possible Advantages for her Subjects Trade, and that she would continue her utmost Endeavours to obtain further Benefits, particularly in the Trade with Spain, which was so useful to her Subjects." But the Lords being now resolved to go to the bottom of this Affair, sent a Message to the House of Commons the next Day, to acquaint them, that having under their Consideration Matters of great Moment relating to the Trade of the Kingdom, desired that such Members of that House, as were Commissioners of Trade, might have leave to attend them; which being agreed to, the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations were called in. And the Earl of *Wharton* pointing to *Arthur Moore*, said, "He did not doubt but one of these Gentlemen could make it appear, that the Trade to *Spain* was very advantageous." This *Moore* was thought to be the chief Manager of that Affair under the Direction of the Lord *Bolingbroke*, but was so ill prepared for this Examination, that he contradicted himself in several of his Answers to the Questions that were put to him by the Lord *Cowper*, concerning the three Explanatory Articles; and the Suspicion the Lords entertained of him, was very much increased by

*Depositions
against
Mr. Moore.*

the Declarations of the other Commissioners, particularly Mr. *Monkton*, who said, that Mr. *Moore* only read the said Articles cursorily, without giving them time to examine them. Besides this, Mr. *Pople* their Secretary being interrogated upon Oath, what he knew of this Affair, deposed that Mr. *Moore* had shewn him a Letter from Monsieur *Orry*, directed to Don *Arturio Moro*, importing in substance, that he must not expect the 2000 *Louis d'Or per Ann.* that had been promised him, unless he got the three explanatory Articles ratified. Mr. *Whylock*, first Clerk to the Commissioners, and privy Secretary to Mr. *Moore*, was also in Conscience obliged to declare many things, which bore hard upon the said *Moore*; which put the Court-Party to Silence.

THE Lords, after this Discovery, proceeded to the Affair of the *Assiento* Contract, and it appeared by the Confession of Mr. *Lownds* Secretary, and Mr. *Taylor* first Clerk of the Treasury, that they were only nominal Assignees for the Quarter Part of the *Assiento* Contract, reserved to the Queen; but that some Persons to them unknown were to have the Benefit of it, and were suspected to be the Lord *Bolingbroke*, the Lady *Masbam*, who was a great Favourite with the Queen, and the said *Moore*. Upon which the Lord *Cowper* made it appear, That the Uncertainty and Suspence in which the

the *South-Sea* Company had been a long time kept, whether the Queen would retain to herself, or give to the Company the quarter Part of the *Affiento* Contract, had been the principal Obstruction to the Company's carrying on their Trade. Hereupon a Motion was made to address the Queen, "That she would be pleased to give the *South-Sea* Company, not only the quarter part of the *Affiento* Contract reserved to her Majesty, but all the other Profits arising from the same." But this was overruled, and another presented, "That the Queen would be graciously pleased to reserve for the use of the publick, such other Advantages as had not already been given to the use of the *South-Sea* Company." But the Queen made Answer, "That she would dispose of these Advantages as she thought best for her Service." Which being a dissatisfactory Answer, even to many in the Court-Interest, by whose Weight the Address was put into this Form, therefore the Lords on both sides began to complain of the Queen's Silence, in relation to the Desire of the House, concerning the Persons who had advised her to ratify the three explanatory Articles; and it was not doubted by the Disposition that appear'd among the Lords at this time, but the Lord *Bolingbroke* and Mr. *Maure* would have both been sent to the Tower. But the

*The Parlia-
ment un-
expectedly
prorogued.*

Lottery Bill being ready for the Royal Assent, the Lord *Belingbroke* and his Friends, who kept in great Favour with the Queen, persuaded her to come the same Day to the House, who very unexpectedly put an End to that Session of Parliament, and by that means also put a stop to any further Proceedings against those Persons, and to the Enquiries in the other Affairs then under the Consideration of that House.

THIS made a great deal of Noise throughout the whole Nation, as indeed it well might. Some pretending to take part with the Queen, exclaimed against the Lords, for pressing her to things so contrary to her Inclinations; these carried their Notions very high, alledging that she was not to be accountable to her Subjects for any thing she did; and the far greater Number were disposed this way, by the mischievous Papers that came forth every Day, under the Direction of the Court. On the other hand, the Lords, who are the supreme Judicature of the Nation, and had a Right to advise the Queen in all Affairs that concern its Welfare, looked upon this open Neglect of their Representations and Addresses as an arbitrary Proceeding in those who had advised her to it, and what was contrary to her Interest and the real Happiness of her People. The most considerable Persons in the House of
Com-

Commons, and the trading part of the Nation, were also very uneasy; and the blame was laid on the Lord *Bolingbroke*, who now managed most Affairs at Court, and was got into more than ordinary Favour with the Queen, in so much that the Ministry were divided into two Factions, the one siding with the Earl of *Oxford*, and the other with that Lord; who carried things to much greater Extreames than the other, and withal, had suited his Management more to gain upon the Populace, under their present Delusions. And his Schemes being rash and dangerous, and his own Circumstances somewhat ticklish; so it was much to be fear'd he would at last stick at nothing that might save him from the Storm, that was now visibly gathering over his head. This was the Cause of several private Consultations among the greatest Men of the Kingdom, concerning the present Dangers that threatned the Nation, and the proper Methods to prevent them. While the *French* King had in a manner got the Reins of *Europe* in his hands, and the Queen in great contempt among her late Allies abroad; and at home the Instability of those in the Court-Interest was such, that tho many of them opposed the Ministry in the Bill of Commerce, and some other Matters which might affect

*Private
Consultations
against the
Designs of
the Ministry.*

their Elections, yet in things where the Danger was not so apparent and visible, they were still the same Men, and would chime this or that way, as might best suit their present Turn; so that there was no depending on them, and the Principles of the People were in all Parts of the Kingdom so much debauch'd by the restless Endeavours of wicked Engines; that it was judged high time to provide for the Nation's Security. And therefore our Great Men, who stood up for the Protestant Succession, were the most frequent at the above-mentioned Consultations; and the better to secure the said Succession, they held some private Conferences with the Ministers of the States-General, and some Overtures were also made to the Court of *Vien-na*, and other foreign Courts; that a Foundation of an Alliance might be laid, in case any Attempt should be made in favour of the Pretender, either in the Queen's Lifetime, which many were apprehensive of, or at her Death. All other necessary Preparations were also making, that the Nation might not be surprized unawares, and many were chearfully disposed to spend their Lives and Fortunes in a Cause which was of the last Moment to this Nation in particular, and to the Protestant Interest in all Parts abroad.

BUT

BUT while these things were in agitation, the Heats at Court grew into a perfect Flame; which it seems brought the Queen into so much Perplexity of Mind, that within a short time after the Prorogation of the Parliament, *viz.* On *Friday* the 30th of *July*, she then being at *Kensington*, fell suddenly into a Fit, which took away her Senses; but having recovered a little from this Disorder, she seem'd inclinable to make some Changes in her Ministry, and the Earl of *Oxford*, after some Expostulation with the other Ministers, resign'd his Office of Lord High Treasurer, foreseeing their dangerous Measures would, if they should miscarry, bring Ruin and Destruction on their own heads. But it would, have been much more to his Honour, had he resign'd sooner, and not concurr'd to strengthen them in those other pernicious Measures, that naturally led them in the Issue to conspire in the highest degree against the Welfare and Happiness of their Country. The Queen at the same time appointed the Duke of *Shrewsbury* to be Lord High Treasurer, in the room of the Earl of *Oxford*; which very much inflam'd the Lord *Bolingbroke's* Party, who wanted above all things to have the Management of the Treasury in their own hands; and this was such a Disappointment to them, that they could not keep within the Rules of Decency, even in the Queen's

The
Queen's
Death.

Queen's Presence. But two Days after, being *Sunday* the first of *August*, the Queen about eight in the Morning relaps'd into another Fit, whereof she died; which falling out so suddenly, and while the Court was in these Distractions, so it broke all their Measures.

K. George
proclaim'd.

FOR the same Day about Noon, *GEORGE* Elector of *Brunswick Hanover*, was (as next Heir to the Princess *Sophia* his Mother, who died about two Months before the Queen,) proclaim'd King of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*, with all the usual Solemnity; and having some time before, as apparent Heir to the Crown, appointed a Regency to govern in his Absence, in case of the Queen's Death, these immediately took place, and managed all things with the greatest Calmness, having dismiss'd those Persons from the Government, who were the most obnoxious. Upon which, the Lord *Bolingbroke* withdrew himself privately into *France*, as did also the Duke of *Ormond* some time after, and were attainted in Parliament of High-Treason. These were followed by others of their Party. But about six Weeks after the Death of the Queen, King *George* arrived safe in his Dominions, accompanied with the Prince of *Wales* his eldest Son, (now our Sovereign;) who were not only received with the joyful Acclamations of the People, but the very Elements themselves seem'd to favour those

two

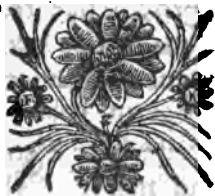
two welcome Guests, the Weather having been more settled and for a longer time than had been known, at that Season of the Year. The publick Credit also recovered, in so much that this Year's Lottery, which was not like to fill, and the drawing of it therefore put off, was all subscribed for in one Day. ^{The publick Credit recovered,}

BUT notwithstanding this outward Calm and Serenity, which appeared upon his Majesty's first coming into the Kingdom, it was not long when a threatening Storm began to arise, from the restless Endeavours of disaffected Persons; who having had so much Countenance from those who were lately in Power, and having their Expectations hoisted very high by the Tendency of the late Measures, to promote the Pretender's Interest, could not bear the Disappointment. But as soon as they recovered from the Surprise they were brought into by the Queen's sudden and unexpected Death, began to give out very broad Threatnings. And indeed things had but an indifferent Aspect both at home and abroad; our late Allies being weakened and divided in their Interests, and having in a manner lost all the Advantages they had gain'd by a twenty Years successful War, and the most valuable Interests of this Nation being made a Sacrifice to *France*, while a Foundation was every way laid to recover the Affairs of that Kingdom. The

Pretender was still in *Lorrain*, ready upon a Call: for what Instances the Queen made for his Removal from thence were disregarded at the Court of *France*, as proceeding only from the Importunities of those who were zealous for the House of *Hanover*; who were then brought under all manner of Discouragements and Incapacities; and while our Armies were disbanded, and our Fleets laid up, the *French* were making all manner of Preparations both by Sea and Land. These things so much animated the Pretender's Friends, that they begun to stir up Tumults and Riots in divers parts of the Kingdom; which was so much infected with the prevailing Principles of the late Times, that the *French* King, who knew very well the defenceless Condition we were in, and what Spirit reign'd in the Nation, thought no time could be more seasonable to send the Pretender among us, and thereby to effect our Ruin. As this gave birth to the late Rebellion, so the Nation might soon have been involv'd in Blood, and all *Europe* in a new War, had not Providence seasonably interposed by the Death of the late *French* King, which great Event quite overthrew their Measures; for the Affairs of *France* took such a turn, as divested the Rebels of all hopes from abroad, and many of their Friends at home began to look shy on them, while others had their Eyes sufficiently opened to

see their own Folly. We have but just mentioned these Things, as being the natural and genuine Fruits of the dangerous Measures carried on in the latter part of the Queen's Reign, which we judged necessary, to bring our Narrative to a proper Period. This Rebellion, which appeared so formidable in the Beginning, was soon suppress'd; after which his late Majesty, by renewing our Alliances abroad in several honourable and advantageous Treaties, and by his good Government at home, recovered the Affairs of this Kingdom to a better Prospect than has been known in any former Age.

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